

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 2905  
3 May 76  
1713

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

GDS

TAGS:

PINT, ELAB, SHUM, AR

SUBJECT:

Case of Chilean Refugee Mario Munoz

ACTION:

Amembassy CANBERRA

INFO

Amembassy SANTIAGO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 2905

REF

Canberra 3179

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
SCIAT  
LEGAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. "Appeal for solidarity" reflects gross exaggerations and out-right misrepresentations, and we would doubt that responsible sectors would wish to associate themselves with it. New govt may have detained as many as four thousand persons including some Chilean refugees on charges ranging from subversion to malfeasance. Allegation that one hundred thousand prisoners are being held is sheer fabrication. No one is being or has been held in "national stadiums." That was case in Chile, but not here. Munoz is one of those new govt would be likely to detain. We have no info, however, on whether or not he has in fact been apprehended. We doubt that incident at his home happened as described, but we have no means of refuting it.

109-812-1  
9-51

DRAFTED BY:

POL:WSSmith:cc

DRAFTING DATE

5/3/76

TEL. EXT.

128

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

CLEARANCES:

POL/R:DSmock

DCM:MChaplin

LEGATT:RSCHERRER (in substance)

LABOR:RGamble

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Classification*

Page 1 of BA 2905

MRN

2. We wonder why responsible Australian unions did not query their own Embassy here regarding situation, and we suggest they do so in the future.

~~HILL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Classification*



# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 2910  
3 May 76  
1813

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

N/A

TAGS: PINS, SHUM, AR, CI

SUBJECT: Reported Arrest of Chilean Citizen in Argentina

ACTION: SecState WASHDC PRIORITY

Info: AmEmbassy SANTIAGO

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BUENOS AIRES~~ 2910

Ref: State 103637

Embassy's informal inquiries in academic circles and among US exchange personnel have turned up no info on Ricardo Alberto Hinrichsen Ramirez. Since GOA has not yet issued comprehensive list of those detained, however, this does not mean latter has not been arrested. We will continue to pursue matter and will inform Dept of any info we can develop.

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

HILL

109-812 2

DRAFTED BY:

POL: WSSmith:mg WSS

DRAFTING DATE

5/3/76

TEL. EXT.

128

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

CLEARANCES:

POL/R: DLSmock (in draft) WSS

LEJAT: RWScherrer (in substance) WSS

USIS: CMeyer (" " ) WSS

DCM: MChaplin

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 2911  
3 May 76  
1815

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

GDS

PINS, SHUM, AR (Misetich, Antonio)

Reported Arrest of Atomic Scientist Antonio Misetich

Secstate WASHDC PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 2911

REF State 103496

Informal inquiries indicate subject has been arrested on charges of subversion, but since GOA has not issued comprehensive list of those detained, we do not have official confirmation of this.

SCIATT is pursuing matter with contacts in Argentine Atomic

Energy Commission and will report any further info which comes to light.

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP  
SCIAT  
LEGAT  
RF  
CHRON

HILL

*Orig. 109-1000  
Human Rights  
Inquiries - ARGENTINA*

119-5-29-3  
SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED

DRAFTED BY:

FOL:WSSmith:cc *WSS*

DRAFTING DATE

5/3/76

TEL. EXT.

128

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

CLEARANCES:

LEGATT:RScherrer (in substance) *WSS*

SCI:RWilcox (in draft) *WSS*

USIS:CMeyer (in substance) *WSS*

POL/R:DSmock (in draft) *WSS*

DCM:MChaplin *mc*

AMB:RCHill *mc*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 3002  
6 May 76  
1520

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM  
Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, AR  
SUBJECT: Congressional Interest in Case of Jacobo Tieffenberg

ACTION: Secstate WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 3002

REF State 105655

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
DAO  
MILGP  
SCIAT  
LEGAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Father, Leon Tieffenberg, called at Embassy this morning. According to him, <sup>his</sup> son is being held at disposition of military authorities but no charges have yet been preferred against him. Father does not know where son is being held. Police will say only that he is being temporarily detained by military. Father indicated son is ex-member Communist Party, had been involved in left-wing student politics at Univ of Buenos Aires, and was arrested during Ongania period. Father insisted, however, that son has dedicated himself exclusively to medicine in past few years and has not been involved with leftist politics.

2. Embassy's informal inquiries have turned up no additional info on Tieffenberg. We suggest that if Congressman wishes to pursue matter further he should direct his inquiries to Argentine Embassy, *Washington*

DRAFTED BY: POL:WSSmith:cc <i>WBS</i>	DRAFTING DATE 5/6/76	TEL. SEARCHED 128	CONTENT INDEXED 128	CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL
CLEARANCES: CONS:GHuep <i>GHuep</i>	LEGATT:RScherrer <i>RScherrer</i>	LEGAL ATAMB:ROHILL <i>ROHILL</i>		

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

376 MAY 26 AM 8 11

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NNNNVV ESA 627BRA963  
OO RUE SBA  
DE RUEHC #9049 1470018  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
O 252343Z MAY 76  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE 3033  
BT

**IMMEDIATE ACTION**

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ STATE 129049

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINS, SHUMS, AR

SUBJECT: ARREST OF JACOBO TIEFFENBERG

REF.: BUENOS AIRES 3002

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO WOULD LIKE TO OFFER EMPLOYMENT TO JACOBO TIEFFENBERG AS VISITING PROFESSOR AND WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER HE COULD BE RELEASED IN ORDER TO ACCEPT EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. THE DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE THE EMBASSY'S COMMENTS ON THIS AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE UNIVERSITY. THE DEPARTMENT WOULD ALSO WELCOME THE EMBASSY VIEWS AS TO HIS VISA ELIGIBILITY IN VIEW OF HIS PAST MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

SISCO

BT

#9049

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NNNN

TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CAO		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DCM		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	L. G/TI		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			RFA		
FBI	3		FAB		
EGOM		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	AID		
FBI/IR		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MILGP		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FO R			PEI		
ADM			GSO		
CBIS		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	B & F		
SCI		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHRON		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BY			HF		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

109-812-4A  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED

MAY 26 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE-BUENOS AIRES

CONTROL: 3013  
MAY 76 1712

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT: Arrest of Atomic Scientist Antonio Misetich

ACTION: Secstate, Washington DC

INFO: USERDA, Washington DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3013

REF: (A) State 103496; (B) Buenos Aires 2911

ALSO FOR NRC and NSF

AMB  
POL  
SCI  
ECOM  
POL/R  
USIS  
LEGATT  
CHRON  
RF

confirms  
1. CNEA President ##### that Misetich has been arrested by #####  
authorities.

##### He says that he can "guarantee his physical  
integrity" which implies he will not be harmed physically.

2. Castro Madero assures us that Misetich's work at CNEA was of  
first-rate quality and that his arrest had nothing to do with his  
employment at CNEA. Apparently, however, GOA has reason to sus-  
pect some connection between Misetich and terrorist group. He  
will be held, we understand, until this connection is "defined".  
As Dept aware, he is one of many being held at this time for  
similar reasons.

3. FYI - CNEA has received about a dozen cables from U.S. con-  
cerning Misetich case. Castro Madero had intended to answer

DRAFTED BY:

SCI:RHWilcox:arb

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

5/6/76

377

AMB:RChill

CLEARANCES:

POL:WSmith

SERIALIZED

FILED

MAY 1976

DCM:MChaplin

LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Classification

Page 2 of 2

3013

MEM

them by cable, but, due to high cost of cables (and low funds of CNEA), he is replying to each by letter.

~~HILL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

3140  
11 MAY 76  
1638

## TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

N/A

PINS, AR, CI, SHUM

Alleged GOA Plans to Deport Chileans

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 3140

Ref:

State 113664

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Deputy Representative UNHCR in Buenos Aires, Guy Prim, told Emboff May 11 that UNHCR Representative Muller had conversation with FonMin Admiral Guzzetti on April 1 concerning status of refugees in Argentina. Guzzetti assured Muller that GOA would not depart from traditional policy of not repeat not sending refugees involuntarily to own or other country. Guzzetti/~~qualified him to say~~ saying that "refugees" comprised those "under mandate of UNHCR," and policy would be followed to extent it does not interfere with Argentine internal security.

2. GOA assurances were published in Buenos Aires press April 2 and 3 and released in Geneva April 2 by UNHCR. Press versions reported that GOA would expel "asylees" only in cases of "flagrant political activity."

DRAFTED BY:

POL:RSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE

5/11/76

TEL. EXT..

121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

AMB:RChill

SEARCHED  
INDEXED  
SERIALIZED  
FILED

MAY 1 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE--BUENOS AIRES

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

CLASSIFICATION

DRM  
-72 FS-413

3172  
12 MAY 76  
1725

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO.

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

N/A

~~XXX~~ SHUM, PINS, AR

Welfare/Whereabouts Argentine Nationals Emilio de Ipola  
and Gloria Rojas

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 3172

Ref:

A) Inquiry dated April 21 from Senator Percy, B) Buenos Aires 2510

1. We have received transmittal slip dated April 21 from office  
(Springfield, Illinois, office)

Senator Percy/requesting information on Argentine nationals

Emilio de Ipola and Gloria Rojas, on behalf Adam Przeworski,

1234 E. Madison Park, Chicago, Illinois 60615. All available

information concerning de Ipola was previously sent to Dept

in reftel B. We have no information concerning Gloria Rojas.

2. We note that Przeworski cable to Senator, attached to

transmittal slip, requested that inquiry be made to Argentine

Embassy. Envelope sent to Dept by Senator's office was

addressed quote American Embassy, Argentine Embassy, Dept of  
unquote.

State, Washington/. We suggest again that most appropriate

source of information on status of Argentine and third country

nationals in Argentina is Argentine Embassy.

3. To avoid further delay, please pass substance para one of

DRAFTED BY:

POL:RSSSteven:mg

CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE TEL-EXT.

5/12/76 121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY

POL:WSSmith

109-812-6A

AMB:RChill  
DCM:MChaplin



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*Classification*

Page 2

of

2172  
MRN

this message, and appropriate parts of reftel B, to office  
of Senator Percy.

HILL

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*Classification*

CONTROL-3234

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

14 May 76

1732

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR, CI  
SUBJECT: Chilean Refugees in Argentina

ACTION: SecState WASHDC  
INFO: AmEmbassy SANTIAGO  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3234

Ref: State 116688

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. In responding to inquiries concerning fate of Chileans (and other aliens) in Argentina in wake of change of Govt, it is important that we understand what we mean by "refugee." We assume that we are referring to persons living in Argentina who cannot for political reasons return to Chile (or Paraguay, etc., as the case may be), <sup>and</sup> who are not actively engaged in terrorist operations against either the GOA or neighboring governments. As far as we know, the GOA has not deported such refugees, and it would be accurate to say that we have no confirmed reports that any Chilean refugees in Argentina have been deported to Chile or elsewhere. We believe that if such persons behave themselves while in Argentina, the GOA attitude toward them will be benign.

2. The situation is quite different in the case of indivi-

DRAFTED BY: A/POLCOUNS:RSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE 5/13/76

TEL. EXT. 121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: SEARCHED AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

CLEARANCES:

POL/R:DLSmock  
DAO:ColPACoughlin

SERIALIZED  
DCM:McDaplin  
MAY 14 1976  
LEGAL ATTACHE - Buenos Aires

*Human Rights file*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ XGDS-2

CLASSIFICATION

duals such as Enriquez, Munoz, and Benado. Enriquez, for example, was a founder and leader of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the Chilean terrorist organization. It can be assumed that he was illegally in Argentina, actively engaged in subversive/terrorist operations against Chile, and in close contact with the Argentine guerrilla organizations such as the ERP, with which MIR is formally linked. Enriquez could hardly be considered a "refugee," and we understand in fact (protect information) that he was probably killed recently <sup>aftermath of</sup> in guerrilla fighting with the Argentine security forces.

3. Munoz and Benado are both listed in Mission files as being deeply involved with the extreme Chilean left, and both are quite probably in the MIR. If Munoz is involved in same kinds of activities as Enriquez was, intimately linked to Argentine guerrillas who are regularly assassinating military and police personnel, it is only logical to assume that he is being sought by Argentine authorities and they will indeed kill him if he resists arrest. Until we have reason to believe otherwise, we must assume that Argentine authorities capturing Chilean terrorists violating Argentine law will try them in accordance with Argentine law.

4. FYI. We know that there is liaison between the Chilean and Argentine security forces, and cooperation in trying to control guerrilla and terrorist forces operating jointly

across boarder. We suspect that in some cases, probably few, the GOA might secretly turn over a particularly important Chilean terrorist captive on request to the Chilean authorities, and probably vice versa. We have no evidence that this has actually been done, however, and no specific case to which to refer. END FYI.

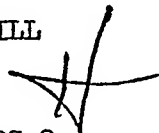
5. We are reasonably certain that the Argentine authorities have arrested some Chileans, refugees and others, residing in Argentina, just as they have arrested considerable numbers of Argentines who have violated security laws or who are suspected of having done so. ~~To xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx~~

~~handled under xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxx~~  
~~Argentine~~

6. We suggest, therefore, that Dept tell inquirers that we have no evidence that GOA is forcibly repatriating refugees to Chile, and that GOA has assured UNHCR that it will not do so. Inquirers should also be told, however, that in cases where foreign extremists in Argentina violate local law or associate themselves with Argentine guerrilla groups, GOA will treat them as it does Argentines in same circumstances.

7. We understand that numbers of persons associated with extremist movements have been leaving Argentina voluntarily because of anti-terrorist pressures exerted by the GOA since the March coup.

HILL



# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 3343  
20 May 76  
1150

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

Info:

GDS

SHUM, AR, XM UY

Uruguayans Reported Arrested

SecState WASHDC

AmEmbassy MONTEVIDEO.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3343

Ref:

\*State 121966 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

1. Zelmar Michelini, Uruguayan national residing in Argentina, was taken from his hotel room in central Buenos Aires in early morning May 18, by group of unidentified men. Well-informed source told us that when asked by hotel staff for identification, group leader replied, "These guns are our identification."
2. Newspaper "La Opinion" May 19 carried front-page article on detention of Michelini, who, paper claimed, has been one of its international editors for last three years. Article noted that Michelini had been hooded and taken <sup>away</sup> by unidentified group. "La Opinion" authorities reported incident to Min Interior Harguindeguy, who promised to investigate.
3. "La Opinion" cited Michelini's record as Uruguayan Congress-  
man and Senator, and emphasized that he is well-regarded in

PP 143

109-512-8

RAFTED BY:

POL:RSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE

5/19/76,

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121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

LEARANCES:

USIS:MEQ

AMB:RCHill

DCM:MChaplin

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATION

international Social Democratic and Christian Democratic circles. Paper also claimed that he had had recent invitation (See 75 BA 2425, 75Montevideo 1165, 75 State 082850) from group of US Senators to visit US./ After learning of participants "kidnapping" of Michelini, paper sent message to participating of Social Democratic Congress meeting in Caracas. Article expressed deep concern over implications of arrest for freedom of press. At no point did article directly charge that GOA responsible for arrest, but there is no doubt in any reader's mind that action was indeed carried out by security forces.

4. Reliable source in "La Opinion" told Emboff May 19 that staff is convinced Michelini arrest was not rpt not meant as intimidation of press, although this is only line upon which paper can hang its efforts to free him. Source said that high GOA official recently told him that GOA regarded Michelini as "communist."

5. USIS Press Officer who knows Michelini reports that he met ~~XXXXXX~~ with Michelini last week and Michelini apparently had no inkling he might have problem with GOA. Press officer points out that in reality Michelini was far from being "international editor" of "La Opinion;" at most he could be described as associated with the paper. Paper apparently using story for dual purpose helping Michelini and for criticizing GOA repression in general. Other sources have reported that Michelini arrest was carried out by Army security, and that he is being held by Army.

6. High GOA officials including Min Interior Harguindeguy, SubSec Presidency Yofre and Junta Member Admiral Massera, have personally assured "La Opinion" editor Timerman that they know nothing about abduction of Michelini or his present whereabouts. Timerman (protect) does not put much faith in their assurances; we share his feeling that such an operation would be extremely difficult if not impossible to carry out without GOA acquiescence.

7. "La Opinion" source knows Hector Gutierrez Ruiz slightly, and described him as having same general Uruguayan political background as Michelini. He was not apparently as active or well known as Michelini, and beyond fact that he also was apparently arrested, we have so far no real information about him.

8. As previously reported (Buenos Aires 3140), GOA has assured UNHCR that no deportations will be carried out, and we have to date no confirmed reports that such "political" deportations have taken place.

  
HILL

CONTROL: 3346

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

20 May 76  
1155

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM  
Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PINS, SHUM, AR  
SUBJECT: Violence Against Argentine Jews?

ACTION: Secstate WASHDC

REF BA-3002

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3346

AMB  
POL-4  
POL/R  
ECOM  
LEGATT  
USIS  
DAO  
MILGP-2  
RF  
CHRON

DCM

1. Leon Tieffenberg told Emboff May 18 that last week he was able to see his son by bribing a guard. According to Tieffenberg, his son is being held by military authorities in La Plata, and has been subjected to various forms of torture. Tieffenberg said son claimed authorities are not accusing him of connections with subversive groups and have not even raised the question of his communist affiliation; rather, questions they have put to him during interrogation have had to do with his and father's alleged activities in favor of Israel. Father claims son told him interrogators called him "Jew dog" while administering beatings and electric shock.

2. Father, Leon Tieffenberg, is extremely disturbed not only over his son's situation, but over what he regards as possibility of future pogrom. Tieffenberg was quick to say that he did not

DRAFTED BY:

POL:WSSmith:cc

DRAFTING DATE

5/19/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

CLEARANCES:

DCM: MChaplin

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CLASSIFICATION



I believe his son's treatment reflected the official line of the new GOA. On the contrary, he said he was sure President Videla and moderates around him would be surprised and shocked if they knew of such cases. Problem, he said, was at lower level. There are many hardliners in Armed Forces who are anti-Semitic and in Tieffenberg's opinion some of these, sensing that there is no sure hand at the helm, are taking advantage of the situation to vent their prejudices. He commented that if hardliners ever gain control, Argentina would not be a fit place for Jews to live; hence, he plans to sell all his holdings, try to get his son out of jail, and leave the country.

3. Embassy has consulted with other members of the Jewish community in Argentina. On the basis of those consultations, we believe case of Jacobo Tieffenberg is an isolated one which does not reflect the ~~official policies~~ <sup>official policies</sup> or attitudes of the present government. Even so, there is some evidence that Tieffenberg may be right in his assessment that certain anti-Semitic commanders are taking advantage of the situation to vent their personal prejudices. We understand, for example, that the President of the DAIA in Cordoba was arrested shortly after the coup and is still being held although he has not been charged either with subversive connections or with corruption. Several prominent Jewish leaders in Buenos Aires are asking themselves whether

He may have been arrested simply because he is a Jew.

4. Embassy will follow this situation carefully and report any future developments.

~~X~~  
HILL

CONTROL: 3342  
20 MAY 76 1121

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES CLASSIFICATION ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: SHUM, AR, CI  
SUBJECT: Human Rights Visit - Weiss and Carro

ACTION: SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 3342

Ref: State 121719

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCLAT  
RF  
CHRON  
DCM

1. Please tell Mr. Weiss and Judge Carro that we welcome their visit to Buenos Aires and will be pleased to offer appropriate assistance. If they wish, Embassy personnel will be glad to see them and we can try to arrange appointments with UNHCR, ICEM, and ICRC representatives. If contacts with GOA are desired, we believe our role should be limited to arranging appointment with appropriate officer in Foreign Ministry, through whom they might request other appointments.
2. Suggest visitors call Political Officer Robert S. Steven at Embassy upon arrival if they wish our assistance.

HILL

DRAFTED BY: POL:RSSSteven:mg DRAFTING DATE: 5/19/76 TEL. EXT. 121 CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: POL:WSSmith WBS

CLEARANCES:

AMB:RCHILL

DCM:MChaplin

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
**TELEGRAM**

3390  
21 MAY 76  
1305

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM  
Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, AR  
SUBJECT: Abduction of Uruguayan Refugees Michelini and Gutierrez

ACTION: Secstate WASHDC

INFO USUN NEW YORK  
AmEmbassy MONTEVIDEO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3390

REFS (a) State 121966, (b) Buenos Aires 3343, (c) USUN 2156

1. GOA has made no public statement concerning abduction of Zelmar Michelini on May 17 and Hector Gutierrez Ruiz on May 18 by armed men who invaded their residences. As reported reftel (b), however, high GOA officials have privately assured editor of newspaper "La Opinion" that GOA has no knowledge of abductions. one of the ~~most~~ courageous liberal and courageous "La Opinion" is ~~perhaps~~ most courageous Buenos Aires papers, and marginally friendly with some staff members. Michelini/associated with paper and ~~close friends of~~ ~~its~~ ~~editors~~ ~~and staff~~. May 20 issue features abduction of the two Uruguayan politicians on front page and several columns inside paper. Other papers have given story little attention or have commented only cautiously and mildly about possible damage to GOA image.

2. "La Opinion" cites witnesses of two abductions to effect kidnappers made no effort to hide activity and apparently had no

DRAFTED RSSteven  
POL:WSSmith:cc

CLEARANCES:  
USIS:MO'Brien

DRAFTING DATE 5/20/76 TEL. EXT. 128

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
POL:WSSmith *WSS*

DCM:MChaplin *M*

AMB:RChill *R*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

fear of police intervention. In Gutierrez case, witnesses claim abductors stayed in apartment for an hour, shouting from window to others in street below. Common to both abductions was use of autos without plates, a trademark of the GOA's Intelligence Service, the SIDE (Secretaria de Inteligencia del Estado).

3. In its treatment of the abductions, "La Opinion" editorialized solemnly that only possible explanation for abductions, given GOA's and Pres Videla's assurances of respect for legality upon taking power, was that some internal or external enemy is trying to cause failure of new govt by damaging image. Paper pulled out all stops by pointing out Argentina's delicate position, with citations of possible negative effects upon international financial institutions, advertising executives convention presently in BA, Social Democratic leaders congress in Caracas; Italian and American elections, new Argentine Ambassadors taking up posts, and UNHCR rep visiting Argentina. Overall effect is clear implication that GOA elements are responsible for abductions, and that GOA will pay heavy price in damage to its image, a la Chile.

4. COMMENT: "La Opinion" is clearly using abductions as vehicle to express concern over much wider problem of GOA repressive practices. Editors are running the risk of having paper closed, or worse. It is quite correct, however, in recognizing and warning that if such abuses continue,

domestic and international opinion will tag GOA with responsibility and it will rapidly begin to acquire same image and problems as Chilean Junta. There can be little doubt that personnel involved in these abductions, and other abuses being reported, are GOA security forces acting either with approval of superiors or with their tacit consent. It may be that Pres Videla and the moderates do not approve and would like to stop it. Their inability to do so, in face of clear realization that such abuses will bring serious repercussions, raises urgent questions of inherent stability of regime and its ability to continue on moderate course.

~~HILL~~  
HILL

3563  
28 MAY 76  
1715

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

N/A

SHUM, PINS, AR, UY

GOA Issues Statement on Michelini, et al, Murders

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

Info:

AmEmbassy MONTEVIDEO

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES

3563

Ref:

Buenos Aires ~~XXXX~~ 3465

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCLAT  
RF  
CHRON  
DCM

1. Interior Ministry, in a strongly worded communique May 25, announced the Federal Police will make a thorough investigation into the murders of former Uruguayan congressmen Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz. It also named a Federal Judge to investigate the case.
2. Communique called the murders a "disgrace" and attributed the assassinations to "the subversion that is attacking the Argentine people and attempting to discredit the country and hamper its recovery."
3. One newspaper, however, noted that police investigators had still not contacted the families of the slain men nor taken fingerprints left behind by the kidnappers.
4. The fate of the three children (aged four years, 18 months

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POL:YThayer:mg

DRAFTING DATE

5/28/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

SY:GSBeckett

POL/R:DLSnock

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AMB:RChill

DCM:MChaplin

JUN 1 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE-BUENOS AIRES

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FORM

11-72 FS-413

CLASSIFICATION

and four months) kidnapped along with their parents Barredo de Schroeder and Whitelaw Blanco on May 13 is still unknown. The four-year-old is Mrs. Schroeder's daughter by her former husband Gabriel Schroeder, a terrorist killed in Uruguay in April 1972. Schroeder's father, an Uruguayan lawyer now in Buenos Aires searching for the children, issued an open ~~appeal~~ appeal to the Argentine people to help find them and save their lives. His plea and pictures of the children were published in several papers.

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3 JUN 76 1824

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
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FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

GDS

TAGS:

PFOR, PINS, PINT, AR

SUBJECT:

Interior Minister Says There Is International Plot  
to Defame GOA

ACTION:

Secstate WASHDC ~~PRIORITY~~ IMMEDIATE

INFO

Amembassy LA PAZ  
" MONTEVIDEO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3691

REFS

(a) Buenos Aires 3641 (b) Buenos Aires 3642 (c) Buenos Aires 3664

AMB  
DCM  
POL-5  
POL/R  
ECOM  
RF  
CHRON  
SY  
LEGAT  
USIS

1. This morning's discovery of the body of former Bolivian  
(now officially confirmed)  
President Torres/, who was reported missing June 1, came not  
long after Interior Minister Gen Harguindeguy called an evening  
press conference (June 2) to charge that Torres' disappearance  
was part of an "international campaign to discredit Argentina's  
military government."

2. At the hastily called press conference, following his meeting  
with Pres Videla, Harguindeguy insisted Torres was neither  
arrested nor being detained by Argentine authorities and  
suggested Torres might as easily have disappeared "of his  
own free will". The Federal Police will investigate the case,  
he said. (Associated Press reported yesterday that Bolivian

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6/3/76

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POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

USIS:MO'Brien (in substance)

A/DCM:WBeal

AMB:RCHILL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

President General Banzer requested President Videla make a full investigation of the Torres case.)

3. Referring to Torres case and international press coverage of Michelini/Gutierrez Ruiz cases, Harguindeguy said there is no doubt an organized campaign exists, directed from outside the country, to discredit the present authorities and ~~obstruct~~ <sup>obstruct</sup> the process of national reorganization. (The Michelini/Gutierrez Ruiz cases and Torres disappearance were both covered--but very discreetly--by the local press.)

4. GOA, Harguindeguy said, is "no less concerned than the press about this problem of the disappearance of political personalities and prisoners." He reiterated the govt's "absolute repudiation of violence, of any extreme ideology."

5. Harguindeguy referred to press commentary, particularly in the foreign press, as "a total deformation of national reality". He said thousands of letters arrive each day, mostly from Europe, full of false information and requests for the liberation of people who have never even set foot in Argentina. The similarity of the letters, he said, support his charge of a coordinated concerted foreign campaign to defame the country.

6. Harguindeguy refused to answer questions but added that the Federal Police and a Federal Judge were continuing investigation into abduction and deaths of Michelini and

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~~Classification~~ Page 2 of 2  
Gutierrez Ruiz, and that search continues for missing

Colonel Pita who was kidnapped May 30.

COMMENT: Harguindeguy's charge of an international campaign has an ~~overly~~ defensive ~~(indeed, almost paranoid)~~ ring to it and will not be well received by reps of the or by other skeptical observers foreign press/here. It does, however, at least indicate concern at top levels over rapidly tarnishing Argentine image abroad.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Denuncian secuestros

Enrique Vanoli, secretario político del comité nacional de la U.C.R., denunció en la comisaría de Adrogué el presunto secuestro del médico y dirigente radical Guillermo Alonso, de su familia y de una enfermera.

De acuerdo con la versión proporcionada por voceros de la U.C.R., un grupo civil armado secuestró a Alonso; a su esposa, Irma Jornada; a su hijo, José Luis, de 20 años y a la doméstica de la casa, identificada como Marta Jung, de la finca de Alonso en Ferrari 549, Adrogué.

Un hijo menor del médi-

co, de 5 años, fue dejado a cargo de unos vecinos.

Los denunciantes agregaron que poco después de ocurrido el episodio individuos armados que se conducían en dos automóviles Torino secuestraron de su domicilio de la localidad de Burzaco a la enfermera Silvina Culotta, de 17 años.

### ◆ Telegrama

En su carácter de secretario político de la presidencia del Comité Nacional de la U.C.R., Enrique Vanoli envió un telegrama al gobernador bonaerense, general Ibérico Saint-Jean, pidiéndole el esclarecimiento de los hechos.

### ◆ Preocupación

Según trascendió, este caso fue objeto de especial análisis en el Ministerio del Interior y su titular, general de brigada Albano Harguindeguy, se comunicó directamente con el Jefe de la Policía de la provincia de Buenos Aires, pidiendo un informe sobre los hechos.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P. 4

CLARIN

BUENOS AIRES

6/3/76

Date:  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor:  
Title:

Character:  
or

Classification:  
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

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**JUN 7 1978**

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assured UNHRC that it will not do so with refugees living in Argentina. In cases where foreign extremists in Argentina violate local law or associate themselves with Argentine guerrilla groups, GOA can be expected to treat them as it does Argentines in the same circumstances. This frequently involves no judicial action.

4. GOA, in Law ~~22,000~~ announced on March 24, authorizes the Executive Branch to decree expulsion of any foreigner it determines may be involved in activities that "disrupt social peace, national security or public order in the country." (American citizen Olga Talamante was released and sent to the US under this law.) Expelled foreigner has five days to leave country, but may be held in custody for security reasons until departure date. Although it is generally understood that expelled foreigner may leave for the country of his choice, GOA maintains right to send him where it chooses (as we saw in cases of three drug traffickers recently sent to US for trial - see Buenos Aires 3530). Less than a dozen foreigners have been expelled from Argentina under this law, although UNHCR is using it to negotiate the release and deportation of approximately 100 foreign prisoners now in Argentine jails.

  
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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 3741  
7 Jun 76  
1208

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

ACTION:

INFO

REF

AMB  
DCM  
POL-5  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
LEGAT  
DAO  
CHRON

FROM Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~SECRET~~

XGDS-2  
PFOR, AR, UY, PA, CI, BR, BL, SHUM  
Possible International Implications of Violent Deaths  
of Political Figures Abroad

Secstate WASHDC IMMEDIATE

Amembassy ASUNCION PRIORITY  
" BRASILIA "  
" LA PAZ "  
" MONTEVIDEO "

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 3741

State 137156

1. Elements of GOA security forces may well have been involved in murders of Uruguayans Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz and of Bolivian ex-President Torres. Embassy has no positive evidence that this is the case but there is considerable circumstantial evidence. Those who kidnapped Gutierrez Ruiz, for example, remained at his home for something like an hour, made no effort to hide their presence and obviously did not fear intervention on part of police. Left-wing terrorists unlikely to have behaved with such impunity. Further, Federal Police at first refused to even accept denuncia of Mrs. Michelini when she attempted to report that her husband had been kidnapped, and they made no effort to investigate until 107710-16

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POL:RSteven/WSSmith:cc *WSS*

DRAFTING DATE

6/7/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

CLEARANCES:

IN DRAFT:

POL/R:DSmock *WSS* LEGATT:RScherrer *WSS*

DAO:PACoughlin *WSS*

DCM:MChaplin *WSS*

*Human Rights*

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Classification

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MRN

several days later.

2. Even though elements of govt security forces may be involved, it is by no means clear that such operations are condoned by top echelons of GOA. On contrary, Videla and moderates may well disapprove. Videla reportedly very disturbed over Torres murder and is said to have given orders that matter must be investigated thoroughly and those guilty brought to justice. So far, however, despite his seemingly good intentions, Videla has not been able to stop abuses. Sources close to him insist that he will shortly take measures to bring situation under control. So far, however, he has not asserted himself and taken effective measures. This could simply reflect his cautious style. On the other hand, some observers are convinced that Videla does not have the strength to confront the hardliners and that a confrontation would lead to his removal as President; hence, this theory holds, he must ride along and hope that a propitious moment presents itself.

3. Whatever the reason for Videla's continued inertia in this area, the results are the same. Our best estimate is that elements of security service are involved, that they have approval at least of their immediate superiors and count with tolerance (or more) of levels even higher.

How high acquiescence goes is impossible to determine

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at this time. One thing is clear, Videla cannot long hide behind protestations of innocence. If such abuses continue much longer without effective countermeasures, culpability (whether by omission or commission) inevitably will be imputed to his govt.

4. Argentine security forces are certainly in touch with sister services in neighboring countries and there may well be cooperation among them. UNHCR here has told Emboff his office has names of Uruguayan security officers now in Buenos Aires who are cooperating with GOA security forces in identifying Uruguayan exiles of interest to GOU. UNHCR is investigating five specific cases of Uruguayans believed to have been taken back to Uruguay. UN rep suggests that hardline elements within Uruguayan military sponsored deaths of Michelini and Gutierrez Ruiz, with executive assistance of like-minded elements in Argentine security forces. Theory is that this was intended as warning to others in GOU against any "apertura" to moderate or leftist elements, and would have practical effect of eliminating potential leaders of Uruguayan opposition. Embassy Montevideo is in better position to comment on this theory. Whether GOU was involved or not in Michelini/Gutierrez Ruiz affair, we believe, as indicated above, that Argentine security forces, or elements thereof, were. GOA would have limited interest in elimination

of such exile leaders for its own ends, however; hence, it is likely that killings were meant as a favor (whether requested or not) to GOU or to elements in Uruguayan military/security forces.

5. In case of former President Torres of Bolivia, we have less to draw upon. Reports have reached us that Torres was considered by GOA to have been directly and actively involved with Bolivian extremists such as ELM/ and Argentine Montoneros.

GOA, or its hardline elements, might have had sufficient cause to kill him for own ends, or same situation may have existed as outlined above for Uruguay. UNHCR rep, who knows countries of region well, feels that killing of exile leader such as Torres is not in Bolivian style--Embassy La Paz will be better judge of that. On other hand, UN rep told us that posters have been reported in city of Salta and Argentine/Bolivian border areas which carry photos and names of prominent Bolivian exiles such as Torres and which ask Argentine public to report whereabouts to Argentine (sic) police. Posters are said to carry seal of Bolivian govt. We have no confirmation of this.

6. UN rep also reports presence of Chilean security officers in Mendoza, and says he is certain there are Brazilian officers on liaison missions here as well. He has no firm reports as yet of forcible repatriations or arranged

killings of nationals of these countries, however, but he believes they are taking place.

7. In realm of speculation, UN rep suggests that there may be an informal "understanding" and cooperation among hardline elements in military governments of Southern Cone to purge area of what they consider "Communist and leftist" elements, by specific killings and by intimidation of various exile communities and resultant exodus to countries out of region. The theory is interesting and would possibly explain developments.

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CONTROL 3742

7 June 76  
1215

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

N/A

TAGS:

SBEF, AR

SUBJECT:

VISIT OF UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEOAMB  
DCM  
CONS  
POL  
LEGATT  
CHRON  
RF~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES

3742

REF: Santiago 5218 (NOTAL)

1. Dr. Gilbert Jaeger, representative of the High Commissioner for Refugees visited Buenos Aires May 20-27 to review the situation of refugees in Argentina. With the local representative of the UN Commission, he called on the Ambassador May 24 to express his concern about the abduction and murder of two Uruguayan political asylees, Michelini and Gutierrez (septel), and the general state of refugees in Argentina. Beyond expressing his anxiety and the need for additional funds for the refugees, Jaeger had no clear point to make, other than he found that the attitude of the Director of International Policy in the Foreign Office (Pereyra) unsympathetic.

2. At Jaeger's request, the Norwegian Ambassador convened a meeting on the same day of representatives of the Western European countries, Australia, Canada and the US. Jaeger described group as representing

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DCM:KChaplinofm

CLEARANCES:

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June 7, 76

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OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975

friendly countries and those regularly receiving immigrants. This time his presentation was more coherent. He expressed his concern over the hostile atmosphere (just like Chile), said that opportunities must be found to place about one thousand urgent cases of refugees who must be resettled outside Argentina, and notified the audience that approximately \$1.1 million will be needed in 1976 beyond what is currently allocated in the UNHCR budget to support the refugees now in Argentina.

3. At the Ambassador's request, Jaeger returned to the Embassy May 25 to report the results of his meeting with the Minister of Interior. He was received by a subsecretary of interior (an Air Force Colonel) and a legal advisor from the Foreign Office. The Argentine officials, after listening to his representations, questioned the standing of the UNHCR to make representations on behalf of persons considered by the GOA as illegal aliens. They noted that the GOA had approved the 1951 convention on refugees with a hemispheric exception, but that the GOA did acknowledge the status of asylees, as distinct from refugees. The meeting was completely inconclusive.

4. Muller observed that the Argentine officials did not make their observations in the form of a statement of GOA policy, but in a conversational manner- He did not press the point that their apparent position was inconsistent with that of FonMin Guzzetti who had formally stated that there would be no forcible repatriation of refugees. He

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believed that the Argentines (or at least the Air Force officer) had been completely ignorant of any international conventions on refugees, and were stalling for time and taking ~~WXX~~ his measure. He said it seemed clear that the GOA was irritated by international pressure on refugees and wanted to proceed to deal with them with as free a hand as possible. Nevertheless, he said he was not rejected by the officials; who invited him to continue the discussion at a later date.

5. We did not get the impression that Jaeger ~~X~~ was effective with the GOA. His reported insistence that the UNHCR had standing with the GOA under its statute rather than under the convention would not appeal to those he was trying to convince. He had no specific example- of cases of forced repatriation, and consequently his representaitons consisted of general expressions of anxiety about refugees. The Embassy's general comments on refugees follow by septel.

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DATE: 02-01-2018  
BY: P57M88K71

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
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FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11652:

GDS

TAGS:

SREF, AR

SUBJECT:

Refugees in Argentina

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE

Info:

USMission GENEVA PRIORITY  
AmEmbassy SANTIAGO PRIORITY  
AmEmbassy ASUNCION PRIORITY  
AmEmbassy LIMA PRIORITY  
AmEmbassy MONTEVIDEO PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3766

Ref:

A) State 136607, B) State 137156

AKB  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USEAO  
MILGP-2  
LEHAT  
SOCIAT  
RF  
CHRON  
DCM

1. Our response to reftel A overlaps to considerable extent with septel in response to reftel B. They might well be read together.
2. UNHCR Deputy Director Buenos Aires Guy Prim (protect), in absence Mueller, gave us detailed report June 4 of refugee situation as seen by UNHCR. He spoke very frankly and asked that we respect his confidence; he should not be identified by name or position in any use made of this material. Jaeger of Geneva UNHCR office was here until May 26. He did not make a very good impression on Embassy officials.
3. There are presently about 15,000 refugees in Argentina.

DEPARTED BY:

POL:RSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE:

6/7/76

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POL:WSSmith

COPIES:

POL/R:DLSmock  
LEHAT:RWScherrer  
CONS:GOHuey

AMB:RChill

DCM:MChaplin

*Human Rights file*

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CLASSIFICATION

FORM

FS-412

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

by UNHCR estimate. About 10,000 of these are Chileans, with Uruguayans dominating in remaining 5,000. Some 4,000 Chilean refugees have left Argentina by one means or another. Only about 2,000 of the total of 15,000 refugees have legal resident status in Argentina. UNHCR estimates that about 1,000 of the Chileans and 300 to 400 of the others could be considered to be in danger from the security forces or rightist extremists, either of Argentina or their native country. UNHCR is actively involved in trying to assist about 100 refugees detained by GOA who apparently will be allowed to leave if places abroad can be found for them. UNHCR is having great difficulty in finding places of refuge for those who wish to leave. In most desperate cases, of those in immediate danger, UN turns to Sweden, France, Holland and one or two LA countries which can be counted upon to respond with visas, but even these are increasingly reluctant to take refugees.

4. UNHCR does not find GOA helpful on refugee matters. Indeed, refugees have learned that presentation of UNHCR credential to Argentine police is likely to result in even harsher treatment than normal when detained. Jaeger was unable to obtain appointment with anyone of Ministerial rank when he was here. (He complained to us about shortage of funds.)

5. Matter of killings of prominent exile refugees is

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discussed in reftel B. In sum, we feel that it is possible but not proved that regional govts (or, more likely, elements in them) may be cooperating in elimination of certain prominent political refugees.

6. Matter of forcible repatriation of Chileans from Argentina to Chile was raised in State 116688, and replied to at length in Buenos Aires 3234. As pointed out there, GOA has given assurances that refugees will not be forced to return to own countries. However, definition of "refugee" may not be same for GOA as it is for UNHCR, and we (and Santiago) have impression that security forces of the two countries may well exchange some individual prisoners. Neither we nor UNHCR rep here have reason to conclude that there has been any great number of refugees thus returned. These comments apply to the situation of other groups such as the Uruguayan refugees, etc.

7. UNHCR has informed us that it is dealing at this moment with case of a Chilean held in GOA custody. GOA has agreed to permit this individual to leave Argentina under UNHCR auspices, and has given that organization ten days to find a destination, with warning that Chilean will be deported to Chile at end of that time if UN has not found a place for him to go. UN is not sure that threat is meant seriously; it may well be tactic of Argentine migration officials to pressure UN to find a refuge. UN would protest and appeal

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~~Classification~~

if such deportation imminent. Such expulsions from Argentina may now be legally accomplished for national security reasons under decree of GOA. We will wish to give careful advance thought to any USG criticism of use of this type of involuntary repatriation, as it was under that legislation (Law 21,259) that an Italian, a French, and a Chilean national were recently delivered involuntarily into our hands by the GOA (on narcotics charges).

8. We understand that there is growing concern and in some cases near panic among refugee groups living here as result of deaths of Michelini, Gutierrez, and Torres, and rumors of disappearances of other refugees. UNHCR expects increasing pressure for settlement abroad from the more prominent or militant members of the generally leftist groups, especially Chileans and Uruguayans.

9. UNHCR rep himself raised possibility of a US parole program for refugees from Argentina. He felt it would be a useful contribution to easing of situation, but that it would be unlikely to have much impact. He explained that he had observed operation of our parole program in Lima, and knew views of refugees there and here concerning it. Asking us to understand his personal sympathy for US, but his frankness as well, he said he felt our program was so restrictive and badly administered that it did little good.

Refugees interviewed by some US immigration officers in

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Lima, not rpt not consular officers, quickly spread word that interviewers were hostile, regarded even "moderate" leftist activity as disqualifying, and insulted refugees. Subsequent applicants then minimized political involvement in Chile, or invented stories, in effort meet US standards, but often thereby left themselves in position of appearing to be only "economic" refugees and therefore also failing to qualify. UN rep thought we would get applications here only from rank and file refugees most of whom in no real danger in Argentina, while more politically active who are in danger either would not qualify for US parole or would disdain to go to US on political grounds. He said UNHCR would welcome a US program in any event, as it was becoming extremely difficult to find any haven for such refugees.

10. We believe on balance that eventual establishment of such a program might be useful in Argentina, if it included selected Argentine parolees as well as Chileans and other refugees. We do not share rather negative assessment of UN representative, and believe program could be implemented in such a way as to take advantage of experience gained in Chilean parole program. It would be a humanitarian gesture and might be welcomed by the GOA as way to reduce its burden of refugees. On other hand, it would be difficult to limit program to very restricted numbers contemplated in Chilean parole program when potential pool of applicants exceeds

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10,000 for non-Argentine refugees alone. Inherent restrictions of US immigration law and exclusion of "economic" refugees would be likely create same disappointment of expectations cited by UNHCR official. Program would also of course require establishment in Buenos Aires of TDI consular/ immigration group to run program, adding to our security problem.

11. There is not sufficient justification for a parole program yet, and there may not be in future. Despite concern over the attacks on such figures as Torres, we do not yet see a situation resembling that of Chile, where we understand that most applicants for parole are under GOC detention. Few potential applicants here are in custody. Only if situation becomes much worse, and only if program could include Argentines as well as foreign refugees, could we recommend implementation of a parole program here.

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 3813  
9 Jun 76  
0935

INDICATE  
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FROM

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CLASSIFICATION

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E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

N/A

PINS, SHUM, AR

Detention of Liliana Nazario

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 3813

Ref:

~~RAXX~~ State 129592

AMB  
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POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
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LEGAT  
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CHRON  
DCM

1. Mother and Amcit sister of Liliana Nazario-Aberbach, ~~an~~ an Argentine citizen held without charge by Argentine authorities for one month, arrived in Buenos Aires from Kansas June 6 to help effect the daughter's release. The mother, Clara Aberbach de Nazario, reported to Emboffs June 7 that she visited her daughter in jail and found her in good health and spirits and apparently not mistreated in any way. The mother has engaged an Argentine lawyer and sought Embassy assistance. Emboffs have informally made inquiries and expressed Embassy's and USG's concern to FonMin and will make every effort to ensure Liliana's continued good treatment and early release. Embassy is receiving numerous congressional inquiries based on Amcit sister Sonia Nazario's form letter plea for assistance

DRAFTED BY:

POL:YTher:mg

CLEARANCES:

CONS:GWhitman (in substance)

DRAFTING DATE

6/8/76

TEL EXT.

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

AMB:RChill

DCM:MChaplin

*Human Rights*

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CLASSIFICATION

from USG officials. We will continue to follow and report all efforts made on her behalf.

2. Although no charges have yet been brought against Liliana, her aunt hypothesized that charges could be related to fact that subversive literature and a poster of Che Guevara were found in her room. We understand she was picked up for distributing subversive leaflets with a group which was rounded up by Federal Police. Her room was later sealed by police.

HILL

CONTROL: 3848  
JUN 76 1815

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

N/A  
SHUM, PINS, AR  
Disappearance of Reymundo Gleyzer

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC PRIORITY

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 3848

Ref:

State 138507

AMB  
POL-4  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MLGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

DCM

1. The mother of missing Argentine film-maker Reymundo Gleyzer filed a petition of habeas corpus on behalf of her son in the First Instance Criminal Court No. 22, according to a June 4 BA Herald report.

2. In her presentation, the mother says Gleyzer was kidnapped in his home May 27 by attackers who stole cinema equipment and household belongings. Gleyzer arrived in Buenos Aires May 21 from the US where he planned to return on a film contract with UNESCO.

3. Embassy inquiries provided no further information on Gleyzer's whereabouts or abductors. We will continue to report new information.

4. Decontrol upon receipt.

~~4. Comment. Emborffs continue to make informal representations to appropriate ForMin officials on specific Argentine~~

HILL

*HILL*

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DRAFTED BY:

POL:YTher:mg

DRAFTING DATE

6/9/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

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11 JUN 76  
1818

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, PINT, PFOR, AR  
SUBJECT: GOA Says Will Not Forceably Repatriate Refugees

ACTION: SecState WASHDC PRIORITY

Info: AmEmbassy ASUNCION  
" BRASILLIA  
" CARACAS  
" LA PAZ  
" MONTEVIDEO  
" SANTIAGO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3914

Ref: A) Buenos Aires 3880, B) Buenos Aires 3727, C) Montevideo 2109

AMB  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. In the face of growing international concern over dangers to political refugees in Argentina, the executive public information secretariat issued a communique June 10 declaring that "there is no danger, either for refugees or any other foreign resident in Argentina. No foreigner has or will be sent back to his own country for political or ideological reasons."

2. The communique was prompted by an Agence France Presse report in which UNHCR Director Gilbert Jaeger, a recent visitor to Buenos Aires, condemned yesterday's armed theft of refugee documents from the Argentine Catholic Commission

DRAFTED BY: POL:YThayer: DRAFTING DATE: 6/11/76  
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POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:  
POL/R:DLSmock (in substance) WBS  
LEGAT:RWScherrer (in substance) WBS

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JUN 14 1976  
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Charge: MChaplin

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on Immigration (reftel A) and called on Argentine authorities to protect refugees.

3. The communique blames "the international campaign to discredit Argentina" for spreading tales that foreigners with either legal or illegal residence in Argentina are being sent back to their countries for reprisals. It suggests that "those persons or institutions that believe in this campaign provide residence quotas in their own countries for those persons whose continuing residence in Argentina is incompatible with internal peace and is a threat to national security."

4. At the same time, the Executive issued Decree No. 787, dated June 10, expelling 15 foreigners who were under arrest under the jurisdiction of the Executive "for carrying out activities against state security." The list included 15 Spanish names, but did not give their nationalities nor the specific charges, deportation date, or country of destination. As we reported in Para 4, reftel B, Argentine law authorizes deportation of foreigners engaged in activities that disrupt "social peace, national security, or public order." The same law was invoked recently to deport two Bolivian citizens to Caracas June 10.

5. Although Argentine law holds that a foreigner expelled from Argentina by decree must be sent back to his own country if he cannot obtain admission into a third country, the communique insists no foreigner will be foreceably

repatriated for ideological or political reasons.

6. Comment. GOA is in same policy ~~XXXX~~ dilemma expressed  
i.e.  
in refitel C, how to relieve the country of dangerous or  
potentially dangerous foreigners while not betraying the  
accepted international practice of respect for political  
exiles.

CHAPLIN *WRS*

13 Jun 76

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

N/A

TAGS:

PFOR, SHUM, AR

SUBJECT:

Abduction of Chilean Refugees

ACTION:

Secstate WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO

Amembassy ASUNCION

" MONTEVIDEO

" SANTIAGO

USUN NEW YORK

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 3918

REF

State 143914

Chargé

POL-4

POL/R

ECOM

USIS

USDAO

MILGP

SCIAT

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RF

CHRON

1. All twenty-five refugees were released June 12. All were

Chilean--with exception of proprietor of one of the hotels

who was Paraguayan and apparently was taken along because

he protested too loudly raid on his establishment.

2. Refugees have confirmed that they were taken away in  
to fifty

usual unmarked Ford Falcons after some thirty-five/gunmen

had raided two hotels where refugees were housed under

auspices of UN. Raid reported by press to have been carried

out in brutal manner, with families handled very roughly.

According to refugees, gunmen identified themselves as

representing "Superintendency of Army Police." (In fact,

so far as we know, no such organization exists in Army.) 159-512-22

DRAFTED BY:

POL:WSSmith:cc

DRAFTING DATE

6/13/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

Charge: MChaplin

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JUN 14 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

FORM

11-72 FS-413

CLASSIFICATION

Twenty-five male refugees, including several who were ill, were taken blindfolded and to what they believed to have been a barracks, where they were beaten, tortured with electric prods and warned to get out of Argentina. All were then released.

3. UN rep Guy Prim told Emboff last night that the twenty-five were threatened with death if they talked too much about their ordeal. Several are in bad shape physically. All are naturally extremely frightened, according to Prim, and want to leave Argentina as soon as possible. Prim indicated UN Refugee Office here is in contact with Geneva and is trying to make arrangements to move them to other countries. He hinted that UN would be delighted if US would accept a few.

4. GOA has not yet issued any statements on its own regarding abduction; rather, it has responded to UN Refugee Office which has in turn passed on responses to press. According to UN reps, when they called to report the raid and mass kidnapping and to ask GOA to take immediate measures to assure safe return, GOA officials expressed shock, deplored act and gave assurances that measures would be taken to find and return the twenty-five and to protect other refugees. In fact, policemen were immediately placed on guard duty outside all hotels housing refugees.

5. In subsequent communication (June 12) to UN reps here, GOA again deplored act and stated operation had not been carried out by police or military units. (Note: Original wording said it had not been carried out by "irregular police or military units"--thus leaving question as to whether it had been carried out by "regular" units. GOA quickly changed wording to refer to all units.)

6. UN Refugee Office here has commented to us that they are satisfied so far with GOA response in this matter. Many observers, however, are asking themselves whether it is credible that thirty-five to fifty armed men could with impunity raid and conduct a lengthy search (gunmen were at hotels for over half an hour) of two hotels unless they enjoyed cooperation and support from elements ~~with~~ within GOA security forces?

7. Chargé will see Amb Pereyra, Director General of Policy at Foreign Ministry, June 14 and will raise matter with him, expressing USG's concern for safety of refugees here.

CHAPLIN  
*me*

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Classification

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 3960

15 Jun 76

1320

INDICATE

☐ COLLECT

☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

GDS

SHUM, SREF, PINS, AR, CI, UR

Aftermath of Kidnapping of Refugees in Buenos Aires

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE

Info:

USUN

USMission GENEVA

AmEmbassy ASUNCION

" MONTEVIDEO

" SANTIAGO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3960

Ref:

A) Buenos Aires 3918, B) Buenos Aires 3914, C) Buenos Aires 3880

1. Summary. Twenty-four foreign refugees, mostly Chileans, under UNHCR protection were kidnapped by band of unidentified armed men in Buenos Aires June 11. All were released June 12 suffering from beatings and electric torture, under threat of death if they did not leave Argentina within 48 hours (see ref A). UNHCR is now searching for countries to give visas to those threatened. GOA has made no public statement on incident, but is placed in embarrassing position due official statement shortly before kidnappings that "refugees in no specific danger" (see ref B). Given circumstances this and earlier refugee incidents, conclusion almost inescapable

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:YThayer/RSSteven:pg

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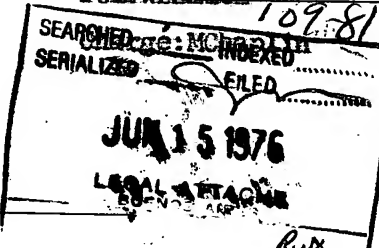
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POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

ECOM:WBeal (in substance)

POL/R:ESmook



Human Rights file

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION

FORM

1-72 FS-413

that GOA security forces either directly responsible or at least tolerating extra-official actions. Embassy suggests Department raise the human rights issue with Martinez de Hoz in Washington. End Summary.

2. The weekend kidnapping and torture of 24 foreign refugees following theft of refugee documents from Catholic Commission on Immigration June 9 (ref C) has reportedly spread terror among thousands of refugees in Argentina. It has also embarrassed the now silent GOA, which insisted last Friday, June 11, that foreign refugees had no "specific danger" to fear in Argentina. Twenty-four refugees in Buenos Aires under UNHCR protection--23 Chilean, one Uruguayan--and the Paraguayan hotel clerk were kidnapped, beaten, tortured and freed June 11-12 and warned to "leave Argentina within 48 hours or be killed." UNHCR officials are frantically seeking foreign countries in which to relocate the threatened refugees, but as of June 14 had only secured two places in Netherlands, two in Canada and up to five in Sweden. (UNHCR Rep told Emboffs in June 14 that UNHCR/Geneva was asked to request asylum in the US for refugees endangered in Argentina.)

3. According to UNHCR Rep, the refugees reported they were men they recognized as interrogated by/security officers from Chile and Uruguay who had dossiers on each refugee. While undergoing beatings, electric torture and recorded music and screams, the Chilean

refugees were questioned by Chilean security officers and the **insisted they** one Uruguayan by Uruguayan official, whom they recognized, the UNHCR Rep said. Interrogating teams had records and photographs of the refugees, apparently from the documents stolen from the Catholic Immigration Commission and files from the country of origin, according to UNHCR Rep who spent most of the weekend with the terrorized refugees. Victims were asked about their own activities and about the UNHCR and told to leave Argentina within 48 hours or be killed. They told UNHCR Rep that they were brought to old building that was well equipped with "torture apparatus."

4. The kidnappings were very quietly played in all Buenos Aires press except English-language BA Herald, which ran weekend page one stories, a Sunday feature describing the kidnappings under heading, "An Ill Wind Blows," and a Monday morning editorial imploring govt to stop unexplained vigilante-type kidnappings which are undermining its image abroad.

5. There are currently 2000 refugees under UNHCR protection housed in 14 hotels in ~~AMSTERDAM~~ Buenos Aires, another 2000 in Mendoza and more in other provincial Argentine cities. UNHCR in Argentina and Geneva is appealing directly to more than 20 countries to provide safe haven for those threatened. (UNHCR Rep would welcome an extension of Chilean parole program or other US assistance on behalf of the refugees.

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He told Emboffs that none of the 25 threatened were "economic refugees" or highly politicized; perhaps five or more were members of the Communist Party.)

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6. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ On June 14 call on ~~XXXXXXXX~~ official, Chargé discussed human rights situation in Argentina (septel).

7. ~~COMMENT:~~

Pattern of kidnapping and murder of foreign refugees in

Argentina cannot fail to suggest direct involvement of elements or at least their acquiescence.

Argentine security forces/ The kidnapping of Gutierrez Ruiz-- at his apartment building a noisy, hour-long affair ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~-- and

the violent roundup of 25 foreigners by approximately 40

armed and hooded men near the local police station both

occurred entirely unimpeded by local police. If, as refugees

reported to UNHCR Rep, Chilean and Uruguayan security forces

participated in kidnapping and interrogation of victims, it

suggests close coordination of Southern Cone security forces

to eradicate what they consider to be subversion and to

terrorize refugees. However, we do not have information upon which to evaluate refugees' allegations.

7. GOA, now twice embarrassed by official pronouncements on

security of foreign refugees--first, that Torres's

disappearance could be casually explained away and then

that foreign refugees were in "no specific danger", both of

which were immediately refuted by subsequent events--has

chosen to remain quiet for the time being.

8. Catholic bishops ~~x~~ sent a strong statement on refugee

incident to GOA, which has not been publicly released, according to UNHCR Rep.

~~XXXXXXXX~~

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9. In past, Economy Minister Martinez de Hoz ~~has taken a line~~ said (we believe) (sincerely, we believe) ~~that GOA in no way responsible for right-wing~~ terrorist acts such as Michelini/Gutierrez Ruiz murders and that they more likely represented effort on part of extreme left to embarrass GOA. In Embassy view this position is simply no longer sustainable. Embassy hopes Martinez de Hoz visit to US is success and we would not suggest he receive anything less than warm reception. However, Department may wish to take opportunity to impress upon him in Washington (as we have tried to do here) that if such acts as June 11 mass kidnapping continue without effective measures on part of GOA to bring them under control, serious consequences could result for US-Argentine relations. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CONTROL 3976  
16 June 76  
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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

GDS SHUM  
PINT, SOPT, AR  
Government and the Media

Secstate WASHDC  
USIA WASHDC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3976

REF

(a) Buenos Aires 3691, (b) Buenos Aires 1951

1. The June 10 issue of GENTE, the largest circulation (270,000) general interest magazine in Argentina, published an article containing a series of letters received by the government from abroad protesting specific human rights violations in Argentina and demanding the release of certain individuals believed held by the military govt. The letters were part of what Interior Minister Harguindeguy called "an international plot against Argentina" in a press conference June 2 (ref a), and, indeed, the article pointed out that the letters were so similar that they clearly represented a concerted letter writing campaign. Harguindeguy, however, had also claimed that he knew nothing about any of the individuals named in the letters; indeed, he said most had never been in Argentina. GENTE requested copies of the letters for a feature story on the "plot".

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DRAFTED BY:

USIS:MO'Brien:cc

CLEARANCES:

USIS:HWoodward (in draft)

DRAFTING DATE

SEP 15/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CHARGE:MChaplin

LEGAL ATTACHMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[The Minister agreed but when shown the galley proofs of the very favorable article, he had second thoughts and ordered that the letters not be published. GENTE explained that the edition had already gone to press and Harguindeguy responded that if <sup>it</sup> ~~they~~ were not withdrawn he would have the entire print run seized. When questioned closely by GENTE Managing Editor Samuel Gelblung (protect) as to the rationale for his attitude, Harguindeguy admitted sheepishly that he had lied at his press conference and in fact most of the individuals named in the letters were in government custody. Gelblung immediately requested some tape, covered the offending names, and the slightly-altered article appeared the following day.

2. This incident is illustrative of the government's rather naive and inept attempts to utilize the Argentine media since the coup. After a good start (ref b), the government-controlled media, which floundered in a sea of corruption under the Peronist administration, are now beset by a wave of military reforms that threaten to drown them in ~~confusing~~ confusing and overlapping jurisdictions. In addition, the newly created Public Information Secretariat, which replaced the traditional Presidential Press Secretariat, is sorely lacking in competent media professionals to guide its dedicated but media-inexperienced military leaders through the pitfalls

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Page 3 of

BA-3976

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inherent in handling and dealing with the national and international press. As the human rights issue looms larger on the Argentine scene, media mistakes like Harguindeguy's may cost the military government dearly.

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 9452

INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 4013

RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 824

RUESLZ/AMEMBASSY LA PAZ 1721

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			DEA		
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ECON			AID		
POI/R		✓	MILGP		
COVS	2		PEI		
ADM			GSO		
USIS			B & F		
SCI			C-PLAN		✓
SY			IF		✓

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTIAGO 5218

EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: SREF

SUBJ: VISIT OF GILBERT JAEGER, OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

1. IN MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR MAY 28, GILBERT JAEGER, UNHCR, INDICATED HIS ORGANIZATION WAS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED BY PROSPECT OF GREATER REFUGEE PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN CONE, LARGELY AS RESULT OF NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN ARGENTINA. QUITE APART FROM ARGENTINES WHO MIGHT FLEE TO OTHER COUNTRIES, JAEGER POINTED OUT THAT ONLY SOME 2,000 OF THE 12,000 - 14,000 CHILEAN REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA HAD BEEN GIVEN PERMISSION TO REMAIN. HE FEARED MANY OF THE OTHERS MIGHT SOON BE EXPELLED.

2. JAEGER DISCERNED A GROWING THREAT THAT REFUGEES IN SOUTHERN CONE COUNTRIES WOULD BE FORCED TO RETURN TO THEIR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, IN VIOLATION OF INTER-AMERICAN CONVENTIONS ON ASYLUM AND POSSIBLY OF UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON REFUGEES. HE SAID HIGH COMMISSIONER HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH COUNTRIES CONCERNED ON THIS MATTER. HE GAVE AS EXAMPLE REPORTED CASE IN WHICH SIX CHILEANS WERE ARRESTED IN BOLIVIA AND DEPORTED TO ARICA; JAEGER SAID THREE OF THESE WERE NOW IN TRES ALAMOS DETENTION CENTER AND WERE SEEKING TO BE RETURNED TO BOLIVIA.

3. JAEGER WONDERED IF WE COULD DO ANYTHING IN BEHALF OF ADAN SORIA, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE LA PAZ BAR ASSOCIATION, WHO HE SAID HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM BOLIVIA IN 1974 AND WAS IN DANGER OF BEING SENT BACK. I EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT WE COULD BE HELPFUL EITHER IN THIS CASE, OR WITH RESPECT TO OBSERVANCE OF THE CONVENTIONS ON ASYLUM, TO WHICH WE WERE NOT A PARTY.

4. AS THE DEPARTMENT KNOWS, THE UNHCR OFFICE IN SANTIAGO LIMITS ITS ACTIVITIES TO FAMILY REUNION WORK. JAEGER SAYS THAT THEY ARE NOW HANDLING 30 TO 40 CASES A MONTH INVOLVING ABOUT 150 PERSONS, AND THAT THE NUMBER OF NEW APPLICANTS IS ABOUT EQUAL TO THE NUMBER RESETTLED.

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

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INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM  
Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

GDS  
SHUM, PFOR, CVIS, AR, US  
Jacobo Tieffenberg Released

ACTION:

Secstate WASHDC IMMEDIATE

REF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 3784

a) State 129049, b) State 139624

1. Emboff advised Tieffenberg's father of offer from University of Chicago (ref a) as soon as he returned from US. He confirmed that efforts to see his son were being turned aside with response that "no prisoners are being held here."

2. Late afternoon June 7, however, father called to say son, Jacobo Tieffenberg, had just been released. According to father, latter wishes to accept offer from Univ of Chicago and depart for US asap. He will apply for visa today. He is ineligible for visa under Section 212(a)(28) INA on basis of past membership in Communist Party. He may, however, apply for waiver under Section 212(d)(3)(A). Presume he would be applying for H or J visa, in which case his bona fides as non-immigrant would have to be examined.

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DRAFTED BY:

POL:WSSmith/CONS:Whitchock:cc

DRAFTING DATE

6/8/76

TEL. EXT.

128

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMB ROBERT C. HILL

CLEARANCES:

POL/R:DSmock (in draft)

DCM:MChaplin

CONS:GHuey

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONTROL: 4195  
1737 25 JUN 76

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

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E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

N/A  
SHUM, CVIS, AR (TIEFFENBERG, Jacobo)  
Jacobo Tieffenberg Case

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 4195

REF: State 158247

1. Jacobo Tieffenberg has not yet applied for visa. On June 21 he confirmed he had yet to have his passport renewed by Argentine authorities, but showed no particular concern about this. (Renewal of Argentine passports can take several weeks.) Tieffenberg has apparently not yet received Form DSP-66 from University of Chicago, nor has University of Chicago apparently yet requested INS approval of H petition for him. Absent one or other of these two documents, <sup>AND</sup> formal application for visa and valid passport, Embassy unable determine type of visa for which he qualified and unable prepare appropriate section 212(d)(3)(A):(28) waiver request.

2. Embassy ~~XXXX~~ is trying to contact Tieffenberg now.

26 A

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DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThayer:CONS:GOHuey:wwh

DRAFTING DATE

6/25/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

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JUN 28 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES

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CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State



CONTROL: 4160  
24 JUN 76 1320

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

XGDS-1

TAGS:

PINS, SHUM, IS, AR

SUBJECT:

Israeli View of Human Rights and Anti-Semitism in Argentina

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

Info:

AmEmbassy TEL AVIV

Ref:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 4160

Buenos Aires 3741, Buenos Aires 3851

1. Israeli Embassy assessment of GOA position on human rights

in general and on anti-Semitism in particular was given to

Emboff June 16 by senior Israeli diplomat.

2. Source stated that his Embassy had concluded from informa-

tion available to it that human rights abuses such as kid-

nappings and killings of leftists and of foreign exiles living

in Argentina are result of policy decision by GOA, and not of

lack of control of security elements. According to reports

which have reached Israelis, and which they consider convinc-

ing, Argentine military made basic decision well before coup

of March 24 to eliminate subversion and terrorism, and to

silence and terrorize all significant potential opposition.

Only question remaining was how to do so with least exposure

to external criticism which had isolated military regime in

DRAFTED BY:

POL:RSSSteven:mg

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith WSS

CLEARANCES:

DAO:ColPACoughlin

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109-812-27

Human Rights file

JUL 18 1976

Chile.

3. One group in military were understood to have urged "Pinochet" course, meaning mass roundups of suspects, large internment camps, and executions with or without formality of summary courts-martial. This course assumed that GOA would accept responsibility for actions and would argue internal security crises as justification.

4. Alternative course, which was adopted by new GOA, according to this assessment, was labeled "la basural" - in rough translation, the "trash disposal" method. Under this course, GOA gave green light to security forces to attack internal security problem with any methods considered appropriate, but always keeping GOA in position of what amounts to "plausible denial" of responsibility. Effort was to cast smokescreen of doubt for first few weeks or months while opposition being destroyed. According to this assessment, GOA accepted fact that it would be suspect and that moderate opinion would eventually begin to turn against it. At point where destruction of internal opposition no longer outweighed increasing domestic and international criticism, GOA would finally find itself able to bring abuses of "unauthorized security elements" and "rightist extremists" under control.

5. Sophisticated touch, according to stories reaching source, was cultivation of false idea that Pres. Videla and "moderates" were battling valiantly against certain "hardliners" and thus

Classification

unable, immediately, to bring situation under control. At appropriate moment moderates would begin to be successful, and GOA, having disposed of bulk of its opposition with limited damage to its image, would begin to build acceptable record in human rights area.

6. Israelis have studied situation with care to see if greater than normal Argentine anti-Semitism has emerged in security forces under new GOA. According to source, Jewish community has antennae vibrating at highest pitch, and every time Jew is arrested, or kidnapped by "non-official" forces, tendency is to see anti-Semitism on rise. Fact appears to be, however, that Jews suffering abuses are in rough proportion to their natural percentage among groups involved. Israeli Embassy recognizes, for example, that Jews are ~~maxim~~ heavily represented in academic and intellectual population which in turn is heavily involved in leftist subversive activities. It is not surprising or sinister to find fair number of Jews thus caught up in captures of real or suspected ERP or Montonero members.

Israeli source assumes that rightist, traditionally anti-Semitic security forces personnel and possibly semi-official "death squads" are doubly pleased when subversive in their power turns out to be Jew as well, but emphasis is on subversive quality, not Jewishness as such. Israeli Embassy and Jewish leaders on whole consider that present GOA has not initiated or permitted more than "normal" anti-Semitism, to

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date. They will of course watch carefully trends in future.

7. Comment: Israeli theory concerning united GOA tactic with respect to violation of human rights is an interesting one and has been heard before. That Israelis believe it is significant in itself. Theory that Videla is simply pretending to be disturbed by violations of human rights is plausible, and, indeed, DAO is receiving indications from its sources which coincide to large degree with Israeli evaluation of GOA internal security policy. On other hand, it is also plausible that Videla and Viola would indeed like to bring abuses under control but do not have strength to do so without risking serious institutional splits--a risk they are not willing to take (see reftels). Embassy leans toward this view, but whatever the reason for Videla's inertia, results are the same. It is clear that elements of security forces are involved in illegal arrests, tortures and other violations of human rights. It is equally clear by this time that Videla must be aware of this involvement. Yet no rpt no measures that we are aware of have yet been taken to end it. Hence, Videla himself must bear the responsibility.

8. As time goes by it becomes apparent that while there are divisions, and possible serious ones, in the Armed Forces, those differences revolve more around questions of long-range political solutions (e.g., whether to dialogue with the present political parties or try to create new ones; whether

to use the present CGT structure or wipe it out and produce totally new concepts and structures for trade union activity) and far less around questions of human rights. Controlling terrorism is govt's number one priority and avoidance of violations of human rights in the process may simply be too difficult and subtle for govt to handle.

9. As this cable being drafted, UNHCR representative approached us to ask our opinion on GOA attitude toward Jews. He has been hearing warnings from some sources including French Embassy that anti-Semitism on rise. However, French concern apparently based on limited number of cases in which persons arrested formally or kidnapped informally on essentially political suspicion have later reported that captors displayed vicious anti-Semitism in addition to interest in subversion. This tends to validate Israeli assessment of situation rather than to indicate specific increase in anti-Semitism on part of GOA.

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4378  
02 JUL 76  
1814

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

Info:

Ref:

XGDS-2

SHUM, SREF, PINS, AR, CI, UY

Kidnapping of ~~XXXXX~~ Refugees in Buenos Aires

AmEmbassy MONTEVIDEO

SecState WASHDC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 4378

A) Montevideo 2208, B) Buenos Aires 3960

1. UNHCR official who interviewed group of Chilean and

Uruguayan refugees after their release by kidnappers

June 12 is out of Argentina for about one month. Head of

UNHCR office told Emboffs June 30 that he is aware that

refugees told UNHCR subordinate that they recognized and

could name Uruguayan security officials ~~XXXXX~~ (plural)

who are active in Buenos Aires in joint operations with

Argentine officials against refugees, but he himself does

not have names. He did himself talk with <sup>the</sup> one Uruguayan

among those kidnapped who stated that he was questioned

during incident by same Uruguayan security official who had

interrogated him two years ago in Montevideo before he, the

refugee, came to Argentina.

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109-812-25  
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DRAFTED BY:

FOL:RSSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE

7/2/76

TEL. EXT.

121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

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LEGATT:RWScherrer

AMB:RCHill

A/DCM:WBeal

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2. We cannot evaluate refugee claims of recognition of Uruguayan security officials in kidnapping incident until we have more information. We will attempt to debrief UNHCR official who interviewed refugees when he returns to Buenos Aires. It is fact, however, that UNHCR officials accept stories as true and have spoken to other diplomats about them. Given weight of information accumulating through various channels ~~concerning~~ concerning cooperation between regional security forces, we do not find it improbable that cooperation to degree claimed by refugees could be occurring. We have not expressed this view or discussed UNHCR ~~allegations~~ allegations outside appropriate classified channels.

~~SECRET~~

4527  
12 JUL 76  
1803

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, AR, UY  
SUBJECT: Case of Andres Larisgoitia

ACTION: SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 4527

Ref: State 168400

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POL/R  
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1. Emboff called Larisgoitia's father as instructed. Father said Andres had had "small problem" but that nothing could be done about it. His tone and attitude strongly suggested he would prefer that Embassy not become involved. Father did not wish to discuss matter on phone and would not come by Embassy.

2. Embassy's informal inquiries have turned up no information on Larisgoitia or the two Freis.

*HILL* 109-812-29

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*Human Rights file*

WSSmith/YThayer:mg

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

A/DCM:WBeal

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08 JUL 76  
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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

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FROM

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E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

GDS

PFOR, PINT, PINS, PORG, SHUM, AR  
Asylum and Temporary Refuge

Secstate WASHDC IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 4471

FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER FROM AMBASSADOR HILL

REF

State 167629

1. Department's instruction on asylum policy (reftel) which I  
have just received constitutes a reversal of traditional U.S.

policy and has implications which I consider serious enough

to bring to your attention.

2. The instruction tells us that we are to make known, through  
the UNHCR, that we are prepared now to accept, shelter, and  
intervene on behalf of persons or groups of persons requesting  
asylum even if they are under no immediate or visible threat.

Our traditional policy on asylum has served us well in Argentina;  
we are under no serious criticism to my knowledge as a result  
of holding to that policy. Persons in legitimate need of  
asylum have found it quite readily in the Latin American

Embassies with their long history of treaty-supported asylum

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POL:RSSSteven:cc

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7/8/76

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POL:WSSmith WSS

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All in substance:

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CONS:GHuey

DATT:PACoughlin

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A/DCM:WSSSmith WSS

AMB:RCH

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policy, or in other Embassies which have shown willingness to receive asylees. I am unaware that such a reversal of ~~pp~~ policy has been implemented in any other country where demand for asylum might be heavy, for example, Chile, Soviet Union, etc.

3. If, as instructed in reftel, we inform UNHCR that we are prepared to take in and shelter, while we investigate allegations of potential danger, individuals or groups of refugees, it will amount to a public solicitation of the community of at least 15,000 political refugees to apply for such asylum. Canadian Embassy, for example, is presently reluctant host to some 27 Chilean refugees who do not appear to be in immediate or potential danger but who cannot now be thrown out the door. We believe in all seriousness that advice to UNHCR of willingness to consider asylum requests will be quickly circulated throughout refugee community and will result in numerous requests for asylum motivated in large part by reasons unconnected with physical danger to applicant.
4. Further, we believe that GOA would interpret very negatively gratuitous advance notification that USG is prepared to intervene on behalf of refugees and Argentine asylees even before we have a case to consider. GOA knows our position on human rights and protection of refugees. It would be an unnecessary and counterproductive step to approach them at this point as we are instructed in final sentence of reftel.

5. Finally, the members of my Embassy's Security Watch Committee are unanimous and emphatic in recommending to me that I point out the serious security implications inherent in encouraging in any way an influx of petitioners for asylum. We have just witnessed bombing of Argentine Federal Police Headquarters; permitting entry into USG buildings of individuals or groups claiming asylum, and especially sheltering them for minimum of two or three days while cases analyzed, is virtual invitation to extremists of left to breach our security. It is also most serious consideration that the elements of the GOA's own security forces who have been carrying out almost uncontrolled terrorist actions of their own could well retaliate against U.S.G. property or personnel for what they would consider aid and abetting of their opponents.

6. I, joined specifically at their request by my political, security, consular, military and intelligence staff members, strongly recommend reconsideration of instructions contained in reftel. We are all well aware of need to consult with Dept in cases of legitimate requests for asylum, and of sensitivity of present Argentine situation. We have no hesitation about telling GOA and UNHCR that we applaud their positions on involuntary repatriation of refugees. However, we feel that instructions to approach UNHCR and GOA on asylum policy are not warranted by situation and that negative aspects of doing so outweigh any benefits.

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CONTROL: 4617  
15 July 76  
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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

XGDS-2

SHUM, PINT, SCUL, AR

Catholic Church Issues Restrained Statement on Political  
Violence

SecState WASHDC

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 4617

Ref:

(A) Buenos Aires 4487, (B) Buenos Aires 3866

AMB  
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POL/R  
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USDAO  
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LEGAT  
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1. Executive Committee of Catholic Bishops' Episcopal  
Conference, which includes Cardinals Aramburu and Primatesta,  
released on July 13 a short statement deploring current  
political violence in Argentina. Message was addressed to  
President Videla and other Junta members, and expressed  
concern of Committee over "...various manifestations of  
violence..." which "endanger peace and bring suffering to  
the Argentine community." Message was inspired by "...recent  
events which have deeply wounded the heart of the Church and  
the people..."

2. Cardinal Aramburu and Papal Nuncio called on Min Interior  
Harguindeguy July 13 to advise him of message and reportedly  
also to express interest in status of priests being held by  
GOA under State of Siege provisions.

DRAFTED BY:

FOL:RSSSteven :mg

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7/14/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith WGS

CLEARANCES:

AMB:RChill

A/DCM:WBeal

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3. Comment. During conversation with Ambassador July 8 (reftel A) Papal Nuncio said that Church would issue general statement on violence, without specific reference to killing of five priests and seminarians on July 4. Considering that Church knows that its clergy were killed by police, and Cardinal Aramburu threw accusation in face of Harguindeguy, tone of message to Videla and Junta is remarkably restrained. We suspect meeting of Aramburu and Nuncio with Harguindeguy yesterday may have been ~~stormy~~ stormy affair, but we do not yet have report on meeting. While Church apparently willing to speak harshly in private to GOA, it still clings publicly to restrained, neutral posture discussed in reftel B. If there are more direct attacks on Church itself, such as murder of priests, it may be forced into much more open criticism of GOA, under pressure of liberal elements within clergy.

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CONTROL: 4734  
20 JUL 76 1220

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUM, UNHCR, AR, CI  
SUBJECT: Chilean Mario Munoz Salas Surfaces, Requests Resettlement  
in France through UNHCR  
ACTION: SecState WASHDC

Info: AmEmbassy CANBERRA,  
" PARIS  
" SANTIAGO  
USMission GENEVA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 4734

Ref: (A) Buenos Aires 3754; (B) Buenos Aires 3234.

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1. Mario Munoz Salas, Chilean labor leader who fled to Argentina from Pinochet's Chile in 1973 and who was apparently hiding for last several months, appeared at UNHCR offices in Buenos Aires Friday night (July 16) to request assistance in leaving the country, UNHCR director told Emboff today (July 19). UNHCR Director avouched Munoz Salas' identity and said UNHCR had asked French Embassy to expedite Munoz Salas' resettlement in his choice, France.

2. Munoz Salas professed to UNHCR director to know nothing about international interest in his welfare (ref A) and is apparently unperturbed enough to arrange his own accommodations

DRAFTED BY: FOL:Ytheyer:mg

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DRAFTING DATE 7/19/76

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BUENOS AIRES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

in Buenos Aires. He told UNHCR director that he was picked up recently in Mendoza by Argentine police and interrogated for two days then routinely released unharmed. UNHCR director marveled to Emboff how Argentine security forces could pick up and later release Munoz Salas, whose life was thought to be threatened by GOA and GOC security forces and who was subject of well-publicized international concern and numerous US congressional inquiries. (RefB). "Either it shows how poorly centralized and coordinated the Argentine security forces are, or there is something funny going on," the UNHCR director remarked.

3. Munoz Salas has apparently been in Mendoza where his wife, five children and four dependents are living. UNHCR director said he expects France will quickly accept Munoz Salas for resettlement and that his family will probably follow. This information has not been made public.

CHAPLIN 

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
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FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

GDS  
PFOR, SHUM, AR, UN  
Situation of Refugees Worsens

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

Info:

AmEmbassy ASUNCION  
" LA PAZ  
" MONTEVIDEO  
" SANTIAGO  
USMission GENEVA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 4740

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State 162271

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~~Room~~

1. Summary. Situation of political refugees in Argentina continues to worsen with last week's disappearance of 30 Uruguayans, including daughter of murdered Uruguayan Senator Michelini. Refugee community is terrified, according to the UNHCR official, who said the number of "desperate cases" requiring immediate resettlement now far surpasses the 1000 originally announced by the High Commissioner for Refugees Aga Khan in his appeal to the US and 33 other governments in late June (reftel).
2. Plight of political refugees in Argentina has worsened considerably in recent weeks, and their terror has reached

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Charge: MChaplin



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the stage of psychosis, UNHCR director told Emboff Monday (July 19). BA Herald reported and UNHCR acknowledged that about 30 Uruguayan exiles in Buenos Aires have been missing from their homes since last Tuesday (July 13), including Margarita Michelini--daughter of the slain Uruguayan Senator Zelmar Michelini--her husband, Pedro Altuna; Ines Quadros, daughter of Uruguay's former ambassador to West Germany; and Jose Felix Diaz, husband of the woman recently snatched from the Venezuelan Embassy in Montevideo.

3. Last week (July 12) three exiles--two Chileans and an Uruguayan--were abducted after leaving UNHCR offices, were beaten and freed two days later. The three had gone to UNHCR office to pick up medicines for some 50 Uruguayan and Chilean refugees on a hunger strike to publicize their appeal for resettlement opportunities outside Argentina. The hunger strike ended Saturday (July 17). (UNHCR director announced to the press July 13 that if the three didn't reappear within 48 hours, he would file a petition of habeas corpus. UNHCR has made no statement yet concerning the alleged disappearance of the 30 other Uruguayan exiles.)

4. UNHCR source said that although Canada has agreed to take in up to 1000 political exiles through its immigration program, the UK 70, and France continues to accept special cases (see septel on Mario Munoz Salas), the number of "desperate cases" has gone far beyond the 1000 originally

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announced in UN High Commissioner for Refugees Aga Khan's appeal to the US and 33 other governments in late June (reftel). "The situation has changed completely in the last three weeks," UNHCR director told Emboffs. "If before we said 1000, today they must all go. No refugee considers himself safe here any longer."

5. Number of ~~11/14~~ exiles seeking UN protection increases daily, source reported. Many hundreds have come in since the Uruguayan politicians' murder in <sup>late May</sup> ~~early June~~ and the abduction and torture of 25 refugees from a UNHCR-sponsored hotel in mid June. Source said he has reports that Argentine employers, particularly in Bahia Blanca and other provincial towns, are firing their refugee employees, apologetically explaining it is "too dangerous" to be associated with refugees. This increases the refugees' desperation and determination to leave.

6. Source said that although he has unsuccessfully tried to persuade Argentine officials to accelerate regularization of the status of many thousands of aliens who previously considered ~~okay~~ remaining in Argentina, now it makes no difference: no refugee wants to stay in Argentina. He said when GOA agreed to consider specific cases for preparing residency documentation, he could not come up with one refugee who was willing to be considered. He also said that the increasingly panicky refugees are coming to Buenos Aires from the provinces, seeking direct UN protection and acceleration of their cases

for resettlement abroad. The hallway to the UNHCR Buenos Aires offices is crowded with refugees each morning.

7. ~~Comment:~~ UNHCR Director travels to UNHCR headquarters in Geneva next week, apparently to review and emphasize deteriorating refugee situation in Argentina. When Emboff called on him yesterday, he jumped up, asking if USG had favorable response to Aga Khan's appeal. He repeated urgency of situation several times during visit. ~~Very confidential!!!~~  
~~he said the Uruguayan situation appeared the most desperate~~  
~~and suggested that Uruguayan govt seems most determined to~~  
~~blatantly all possible sympathy~~  
~~XXXX~~

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CONTROL: 4785

22 Jul 76

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
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FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

GDS

SHUM, AR

Jacobo Tieffenberg Case

ACTION:

Secstate WASHDC

REF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 4785

4567

Buenos Aires 170210 and previous

1. As reported in reftel, Jacobo Tieffenberg has been issued visa and is ready to leave Argentina as soon as his wife has safe conduct out of the country.

2. Meanwhile, however, his father Leon Tieffenberg has been arrested by local police in Monte (near which he has a small ranch). Father had told Emboff last week that Army had raided his ranch during week while he was in Buenos Aires, and had told ranch employees they were looking for arms because "Jacobo Tieffenberg is a dangerous subversive who is currently under arrest." This probably suggests lack of coordination rather than that new arrest order is pending. As soon as Army had searched his ranch, local police probably felt called upon to arrest him when Leon Tieffenberg returned there.

3. Whatever the case, for the moment Jacobo Tieffenberg is in hiding, and his father is being detained.

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7/22/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

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CONS:Whitchcock (in draft)

JUL 2 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES

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CLASSIFICATION

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 4797

22 Jul 76

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INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, SCUL, AR  
SUBJECT: More Priests Abducted, Found Murdered

ACTION: SecState WASHDC

Info: AmEmbassy PARIS

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 4797

Ref: Buenos Aires 4617

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1. Two priests, one French, the other Argentine, were found shot to death in La Rioja yesterday (July 21). They had been abducted Sunday night (July 18) from a convent near their church by two men in an unmarked car who claimed they were bringing the priests "downtown to testify about some prisoners."

In an official statement, the Interior Ministry condemned the murders of the two priests and that of the five Pallottine churchmen in Buenos Aires two weeks ago and ordered a full investigation.

2. Comment. The Catholic Church reacted cautiously to the Pallottine mass murder two weeks ago, restraining at least its public statements to general condemnations of violence (reftel). This latest abduction and killing, in the now

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DRAFTING DATE: 7/22/76 TEL. EXT. 121

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well-known style of masquerading "security forces," ~~xxxx~~  
may well push the Church to a stronger, more open criticism  
of GOA.

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
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FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, CI, AR  
SUBJECT: Chilean National Munoz Salas Seeks Resettlement Outside Argentina

ACTION: SecState WASHDC

Info: AmEmbassy CANBERRA  
" PARIS  
" SANTIAGO  
" VIENNA  
USMission GENEVA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 5020

Ref: Buenos Aires 4734

Chargé  
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1. Chilean Munoz Salas remains in UNHCR-sponsored hotel in Buenos Aires awaiting a visa after interviews with French, Australian and Austrian govts. He does not appear to be in danger or particularly concerned about his safety, although he is determined to leave Argentina following his and 13 other registered refugees' 11-hour detention and mistreatment by Argentine provincial police in Mendoza July 2.

2. According to Munoz Salas' statements to immigration authorities of one Embassy, he worked undisturbed for the Juan San/~~XXXX~~ Provincial Department of Mines from 1973 until March 26, 1976, two days after the military takeover. Salas

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said that when his family was tortured by National Police on March 26, he fled to the UNHCR regional representative Social Action Coordinator in Mendoza, where he was registered as a mandated refugee and housed in a safe haven.

3. He said that on July 2, he and 13 other refugees were forcibly taken from the safe haven to the local police station and were beaten, tortured and humiliated by Argentine police in the presence of ~~any~~ an Army Intelligence officer. Eleven hours later they were released and returned to the safe haven.

Munoz Salas says he was recognized and taunted for his union past, information which he claims the Social Action Coordinator must have given the police. He also blames UNHCR for not providing adequate economic assistance to his family (an amount well above the minimum wage) and for not representing him vigorously to foreign embassies where he is seeking visas.

4. Munoz Salas, who was National President of the Chilean Mine Workers Federation, freely admitted he had been an active, militant member of the Socialist Party in Chile before Pinochet, but stated he had not involved himself in politics or union matters in Argentina.

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TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB			DAO		✓
DCM		✓	LI GATT		✓
			DEA		
POL	3		FAS		
ECOM		✓	AID		
POL/R		✓	MILGP		2
CO S			PEI		
ADM			GSO		
USJS		✓	B & F		
SCI		✓	C 'N N		✓
SY			IF		✓

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DISAPPEARANCE OF RAYMUNDO GLEYZER

REF: BUENOS AIRES 3848

1. THE DEPARTMENT CONTINUES TO RECEIVE PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRIES REGARDING THE CASE OF RAYMUNDO GLEYZER, MOSTLY ON BEHALF OF THE "EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO DEFEND LATIN AMERICAN FILMMAKERS." RECENT INQUIRIES REFER TO THE REPORT ISSUED BY SANFORD KATZ FOLLOWING HIS FIVE-DAY VISIT TO ARGENTINA TO LOOK INTO THE GLEYZER CASE. KATZ SAYS HE VISITED THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, WHERE HE SAYS HE WAS TOLD THAT THE EMBASSY HAD PREPARED A REPORT INDICATING THAT "MR. GLEYZER HAD PERMITTED CHILEAN REFUGEES TO USE HIS HOME IN HIS ABSENCE AND THAT HE HAD GIVEN HIS SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO FILM WORK ABROAD IN OPPOSITION TO THE CHILEAN JUNTA." KATZ SAYS THE EMBASSY ARRANGED FOR HIM TO MEET PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARY RICARDO YOFRE, WHO "DENIED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF OR CONTROL OVER THE FATE OF MR. GLEYZER." HE SAYS THE EMBASSY'S QUERIES TO TWO FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS RECEIVED A SIMILAR NEGATIVE RESPONSE.

2. SEVERAL INQUIRERS HAVE SEEN OR HEARD OF A LETTER SAID TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY AN ARGENTINE NOW RESIDING IN LIMA STATING THAT GLEYZER IS BEING HELD IN "THE SPECIAL TORTURE CAMP IN THE VICINITY OF THE AUTOPISTA GENERAL RICHIERI AND THE CAMINO DE CINTURA (NEAR THE EZEIZA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN BUENOS )."

3. DOES THE EMBASSY HAVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING GLEYZER FURTHER TO THAT REPORTED IN REFTEL? HAS SEEN NO REPORT, FROM THE EMBASSY OR ANY INDICATING THAT GLEYZER HAD BEEN SUPPORTING FILM WORK IN OPPOSITION TO THE CHILEAN JUNTA.

4. THE DEPARTMENT IS POUCHING TO THE EMBASSY A COPY OF THE KATZ REPORT, THE SUBSTANTIVE POINTS OF WHICH ARE OUTLINED IN PARA. 1 ABOVE. KISSINGER  
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BUENOS AIRES	

*Human Rights file*

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in various conversations held by Katz in Buenos Aires. At no time have we reported or suggested that Gleyzer in fact was supporting such activities.

3. We have not seen alleged letter concerning Gleyzer's presence in "torture camp" near Ezeiza. Katz himself sent us telegram from New York on June 23 containing this charge. We have been unable to confirm existence of such a facility. Our informal inquiries about Gleyzer have been met with complete silence to date.

CHAPLIN *me*~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

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CONTROL: 4865

26 Jul 76

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# TELEGRAM

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FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

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E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

Ref:

GDS

SHUM, AR

Jacobo Tieffenberg Case

SecState WASHDC : PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 4865

Buenos Aires 4785

1. Jacobo Tieffenberg left Argentina for Chicago July 22.

His Chilean wife and daughter flew to Chile same day and will follow to US shortly.

2. Father Leon Tieffenberg remains detained by local Monte police (reftel). His wife told Emboff today (July 26) he is being well treated but she is seeking a lawyer. She said most of their ranch property was stolen or destroyed in a raid by uniformed persons from the local military garrison who later forced the caretaker's wife to sign a statement that nothing in the house was missing. The house was later sealed by local police.

3. Son's travel was not hampered in any way and it seems local security forces may be acting belatedly on long-delayed instructions or rumor in detaining father. Family

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FOL:YThayer:mg

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7/26/76

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Charge: MChaplin

JUL 26 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FORM

11-72

FS-413

hopes son's departure will facilitate father's release.

CHAPLIN

*me*

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
**TELEGRAM**

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☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

GDS  
SHUM, PINT, PFOR, AR, GW, IS  
Arrested Israelis Freed

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

Info:

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" TEL AVIV

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 5109

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1. Five Israelis--four of them dual Argentine-Israeli nationals--and three other Jewish Argentine youths, whose arrest and detention by military authorities July 22 sparked public protest by GOI, were released unconditionally yesterday (August 3), according to a Israeli Embassy source.
2. The five Israelis, recent arrivals in Argentina as representatives of the World Zionist Organization's youth and pioneer department, were arrested after attending a seminar in a Jewish Club in Cordoba. The Israeli Foreign Ministry protested the arrests to the Argentine Chargé in Tel Aviv on July 26 and the Israeli Ambassador to Argentina, Ram Nirgad, asked Argentine Foreign Minister Guzzetti for "clarification" of the case on July 30. Argentine authorities promised an immediate investigation and attributed the

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Charge: MChaplin

AUG 5 1976

LEGAL ATTACHMENT BUENOS AIRES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

delay to the need to translate the materials found on the detainees which was printed in Hebrew.

3. Comment. GOA, loathe to find itself embroiled in international disputes over citizens' rights, is nonetheless facing increasingly vocal protests abroad over missing and arbitrarily detained foreign citizens. Israeli govt's quick and loud protest apparently moved the arrest case straight to the highest levels of the Interior Ministry, which washed its hands of the case as quickly as form allowed. (Perhaps Argentines feared Israeli paratroops might appear over Cordoba unless they heeded GOF's protests.) German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, however, who wrote President Videla July 7 that the continued disappearance of two German dual nationals, missing since early April, could severely affect relations between the two countries, has yet to receive a reply. Embassy is now preparing round-up of other cases of missing or detained foreign nationals in Argentina.

CHAPLIN

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

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INDICATE  
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FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

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E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

N/A

SREF, SHUM, SR, CH

Chilean Refugees to Leave for Caracas

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE

Info:

X AmEmbassy SANTIAGO

" CARACAS

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 5200

Ref:

State 196876

Emboff attempted contact Eugenio Velasco and Jaime Castillo

evening of August 8, but was informed they had checked out.

Call to UNHCR this morning indicates two are safe and are

staying in home of friend.as recommended by Argentine

authorities. According to UNHCR, two Chileans have visas

for Venezuela and will travel to Caracas sometime today

(August 9).

Charge  
POL-5  
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USDAO  
MILGP-2  
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CHAPLIN *me*

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

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E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

N/A

SREF, SHUM, AR, CI

Chilean Refugees Leave for Caracas

ACTION:

Secstate WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO Amembassy CARACAS IMMEDIATE

Amembassy SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 5237

Ref

Buenos Aires 5200

UNHCR and Venezuelan Embassy confirm that Eugenio Velasco and Jaime Castillo departed last night for Caracas and arrived there safely this morning (August 10).

CHAPLIN

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8/10/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

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CLASSIFICATION

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E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

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ACTION:

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GDS

PINT, SHUM, AR

Leon Tieffenberg Released

Secstate WASHDC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 5269

Buenos Aires 4865

Chargé  
POL-3  
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1. Emboff spoke to Leon Tieffenberg this morning. Latter was released evening of August 5 and is now at home. He informed Emboff he had been very correctly treated and that military authorities had apologized to him upon his release, saying that detention had been result of gross error. He informed Emboff that govt itself is now conducting an investigation to determine why he was arrested in the first place. Tieffenberg expressed himself as satisfied with the government's attitude, and says he considers the case closed.

2. Tieffenberg thanked Embassy for its efforts on his and his son's behalf.

~~himself and of his son~~

CHAPLIN

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DRAFTING DATE

8/11/76

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LEGAL ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES

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# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 5274

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FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

N/A  
SHUM, PINS, AR, AS, AU, CI, FR  
Chilean National Mario Muñoz Salas

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

Info:

AmEmbassy CANBERRA  
" PARIS  
" SANTIAGO  
" VIENNA  
USMission GENEVA

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ 5274

Ref:

Buenos Aires 5020

Charge  
POL-4  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
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1. Munoz Salas and family left Argentina for Austria during week of August 2, according to reliable diplomatic sources.
2. Diplomatic and international agency sources with whom we have consulted on Munoz Salas case consider his is notable example of campaign by interest groups more concerned with embarrassing right-wing governments in region than with welfare of refugees. Sources who interviewed Munoz Salas note that he himself was apparently genuinely perplexed by international interest shown in his case. While naturally concerned about his and family's personal safety, he did not demonstrate extreme fearfulness of many refugees.

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LEGAL ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES

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# TELEGRAM

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INFO: 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, PINT, SHUM, AR  
SUBJECT: Human Rights Situation in Argentina

ACTION: Secstate WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO Amembassy ASUNCION  
" BRASILIA  
" MONTEVIDEO  
" SANTIAGO

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 5637

REF (a) State 195912, (b) Buenos Aires 4852, (c) Buenos Aires 5521

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1. SUMMARY: Political violence, with consequent violations of human rights, has been a feature of Argentine life for several years. Left-wing terrorism began in 1969 and over the years has been responsible for hundreds of political assassinations, kidnappings and attacks against private property and military and police installations. Counter, or right-wing, terrorism appeared in 1974 with the emergence of the famous Triple A (comprising <sup>ED OF</sup> off-duty policemen and labor goons). Counterterrorism, prior to the change of govt, however, seemed to be aimed not so much at leftist terrorists as at progressive political figures and opponents of Mrs. Peron and Lopez Rega. Its victims numbered in the hundreds and it was guilty of shocking atrocities. This, then, was the situation the military inherited

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LEGAL ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES

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[when it took power on March 24 of this year. President Videla immediately promised to defeat left-wing terrorism and at the same time to respect human rights; the government, he said, would monopolize power (i.e. vigilante activities outside the law would not be tolerated). In terms of the struggle against leftist subversion, Videla has been as good as his word. The govt has had marked success. The ERP has been severely damaged if not neutralized. The Montoneros have suffered important losses. The hope that counterterrorism would be brought under control, however, has not been realized. If anything, counterterrorism has increased. Kidnappings, tortures and murders of real or suspected "leftists" are commonplace--often on the flimsiest pretexts. Further, it is clear that in most cases the security forces themselves, or at least elements thereof, are the authors of these abuses. President Videla and those around him continue to insist that this does not represent govt policy, which remains one of respect for human rights. Policy or not, however, police violations of human rights remain uncurbed. There is contradictory evidence as to why. Some believe Videla is simply insincere in his protestations. This cannot be disproved or rejected out of hand. What seems more likely, however, is that the security forces are taking advantage of divisions within the govt, unclear policy guidelines, fuzzy lines of command and the fact that the govt must depend upon them in its fight against subversion.]

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[In short, because of these conditions, the security forces are operating with mission-type orders without much subsequent reference to the top levels of control. Even if this is the case, of course, the results are the same. Human rights violations continue. The willingness and ability of the present leaders of the GOA to correct this situation and stop human rights violations are not yet clear, but there is some evidence that they are moving in the right direction. The political ambience in which they are operating is complex in the extreme and the options are few. Even though leaders of what might be described as the political opposition (the UCR, the Peronists, labor leaders, etc.) are deeply concerned over the question of human rights, they remain willing to give Videla the benefit of the doubt and more time to bring about rectifications. They have ~~been~~ good reason to be patient, for most observers are convinced that if Videla is pushed aside, he would be replaced by someone far worse--probably a hardliner who would not even give lip service to respect for human rights. In sum, as the democratic forces in the country see it, Videla may be a weak reed for them to lean upon, but he is the only reed they have. President of Peronist Party, Deolindo Bittel, just coming out of four months of house arrest, for example, commented to Emboffs on Aug 26, "Dr. Balbin of UCR and I are in full agreement that only the most irresponsible Argentine would wish to bring about the failure of the Videla govt, for

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what would follow it would doubtless be worse." END SUMMARY.

2. The Environment of Terrorism. In contrast to the Chilean situation, political violence and human rights violations are not a new factor in Argentina. Anti-govt terrorism and repressive countermeasures are familiar themes in recent Argentine history. The current State of Siege was not instituted by the present govt; rather, it was imposed by Mrs. Peron's govt (the Lanusse govt had also ruled under a State of Siege).. Political prisoners in significant numbers were held by the previous regime, and by the regime before that, as well as by the present govt. Terrorism and counterterrorism regularly left bodies in the streets well before the latest military coup. There has been a relative rise in the numbers of victims on both sides since March 24 of this year, but the major change has been in the degree of interest shown by international opinion. Prior to the change of govt there were few expressions of concern from abroad concerning counterterrorism. Now, such expressions

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are commonplace.

3. The terrorist threat from the left certainly did not end on March 24. On the contrary, since then an estimated 200 military and police have been killed by terrorists and an unknown but significant number of civilians have died at their hands. An average of at least one active or retired member of the military or police is being killed every day, and bombings of specific targets are common. There have been several "spectaculars" such as the killing of the Federal Police Chief in his own bed and the July bombing of Police Headquarters. Left-wing terrorism has been the most significant factor in Argentina's inability to attract foreign investment.

4. GOA Drive to Control Leftist Subversion. In its drive to defeat the terrorists, the GOA has acknowledged killing some 450 claimed terrorists since March 24, and an unknown but undoubtedly large number of real or suspected terrorists and "subversives" have been detained. The GOA has had considerable success in reducing the ERP, but it is generally conceded that the Montoneros, despite losses, remain a dangerous and intact organization of an estimated 7,000 militants. This basic struggle between security forces and terrorist organizations is likely to continue for at least another year or so, with a clear-cut victory for the GOA not yet assured.

5. The Visible Battlefield. It is a grim fight and as in most such struggles of blood and passion there are violations of

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human rights on both sides. On the govt side, for example, it is generally accepted that the police and military are using torture to obtain information from captured terrorists. This type of abuse is unfortunately all too common in forces around the world engaged in combat when immediate operational intelligence is of direct and urgent concern and members of the engaged forces feel that the "enemy" has forfeited any rights by taking up arms. As in most such circumstances, it is usually impossible to pinpoint the degree of abuse or specific responsibility.

6. Legal Detentions. Also as part of their visible efforts against terrorism and subversion, the security forces have detained numerous persons for investigation and questioning under either the provisions of the State of Siege, the arms control laws, etc. Treatment of those who are actually "booked" tends to be relatively "proper". Their homes may be ransacked and valuables stolen during the arrest, but once in custody torture does not seem to be routine. Some are held indefinitely, as they legally can be under the State of Siege (see para 7), but others are freed after a short time and still others passed on to the procedures of the regular courts or to military courts. ~~////~~ martial when this is prescribed by law.

7. State of Siege. The State of Siege currently in effect in Argentina was imposed by Mrs. Peron's govt on Nov 6, 1974.

The current military govt has not changed its status. As with

[State of Siege provisions in most Latin American constitutions which have been regularly invoked throughout their history, many individual guarantees are suspended, the govt is authorized to hold suspects indefinitely and to move them from place to place within the country. Habeas corpus is suspended, as are many other rights, but judicial recourse is not altogether absent. Sooner or later those held under the State of Siege must either be charged and turned over to the courts or they must be released. And the courts continue to function. The State of Siege is not an exceptional state of affairs in countries such as Argentina, and a reasonable utilization of such powers by the govt is not considered by most Argentines as constituting a violation of human rights. It does become questionable to public opinion when abused, as with the mass roundups of suspects in sports stadiums in Chile. Some Argentines are concerned that the govt here may be verging on abuse. An estimated 3,000 to 5,000 persons are now detained under the provisions of the State of Siege. The GOA has released no total or list of those detained, and as various individuals are released others are detained; hence, it is almost impossible to determine how many prisoners are being held for a "reasonable" few weeks or a month and how many for an "unreasonable" few months. Whatever the length of time, enough people are affected by the detentions so that there is widening concern.]

8. Other Juridical Measures. In addition to the State of Siege, the GOA, since taking power, has promulgated a number of new laws and modifications to old ones. The Penal Code has been modified to include new offenses and to increase penalties for others. Certain laws, such as the "Act of Institutional Responsibility", described even by the cautious Argentine press as "revolutionary justice", clearly appear to be violations of political and civil rights by any objective standard, but they do not appear to constitute violations of human rights in the generally understood sense. Moreover, the regular civil courts continue to function. They are, for example, dealing with charges of corruption and other abuses against members of the deposed govt. The courts have even challenged the GOA's failure to observe a provision of the Constitution which permits a person held under State of Siege to elect to leave the country, and the GOA has committed itself to resolve the legal conflict explicit in this case.

9. Counterterrorism. While the above-described spin-off effects of the govt's visible and "legal" drive against left-wing terrorism--e.g. a propensity not to take prisoners in combat, harsh interrogation of captured terrorists, legal detention of those suspected of terrorist connections, and emergency legislation which suspends certain rights--may have negative implications for the human rights situation, they do not by any means represent the main problem. The area

which is the cause of greatest concern is the much more complex and obscure matter of counterterrorism practiced by elements of the security forces whose authority (in terms of the origin of the orders upon which they act) is unclear. Since 1974, elements commonly described as representing the "extreme right" of the political spectrum have conducted their own terrorist campaign against the leftist guerrillas and, almost indiscriminately, against persons and groups identified-- sometimes only very vaguely so--with the left. During Mrs. Peron's govt, the best known of the rightist counterterrorist groups was the Triple A, made up largely of police personnel operating unofficially and some labor union goon squads. Without doubt, the Triple A counted with support at the highest levels of Mrs. Peron's regime. With the advent of the military govt, the Triple A faded from the forefront (probably because of its identification with the Peron regime), but counterterrorism, if anything, increased. Our best estimate is that such activities are now carried out almost exclusively by active-duty and retired military and police personnel who are pursuing the anti-leftist campaign in something of the manner of a crusade. The worst of these units seems to spring from the Federal Police, rather than from the military. Their method of operation is well known: civilian clothes, movement in the night in unmarked cars, kidnapping (as distinct from the legal arrest described in para 6), torture and even murder. Their victims have

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sometimes been targeted on the flimsiest of pretexts. The five priests who were murdered in July, for example, had nothing to do with terrorism, nor did the Bishop of La Rioja, who ostensibly was killed last month in an automobile accident but is believed to have been murdered by rightist "death squads". A particular target has been the foreign refugee community living in Argentina, particularly Uruguayans and Chileans, with the Michelini-Gutierrez Ruiz murders and the recent disappearance of 17 Uruguayan refugees the most notorious cases so far. There are no statistics concerning the numbers of kidnappings, sessions of torture and bodies left scattered about, but the total since March must be in the hundreds.

10. Weeks' Case. To be sure, the line between "legal arrest" and "kidnapping" is sometimes blurred. The case of Father James Martin Weeks is perhaps illustrative. Weeks was taken into custody by Air Force Intelligence agents in civilian clothes on Aug 3. The seminary in which he lived was ransacked and many valuables stolen. To the ex-nun housekeeper, the intruders pretended they were Montoneros, but they made no such pretense to Weeks; to him, they freely admitted they were intelligence agents (suggesting they may originally have planned to kill Weeks and the others and blame it on the left). Weeks was not involved with subversion and the only "evidence" found against him were a few "Marxist" books

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[and a "revolutionary" record. Even so, Weeks might never have been seen again had it not been for the Embassy's urgent inquiries on his behalf. Once the Embassy's interest became known, Weeks and those arrested with him apparently were switched from the category of "clandestine detainees" to "legally arrested". Even at that, however, the GOA denied consular access for almost ten days and never replied to US protest notes on the subject.]

11. Official Position of GOA? The modus operandi of security forces engaged in these extra-legal activities makes it clear that they enjoy support from above. The question is: how high does that tolerance reach? One theory is that the top levels of the GOA, including President Videla, are fully aware and approve of these sub rosa operations. In order to mute consequent damage to the govt's image at home and abroad, however, this theory runs, Videla feigns innocence and promises rectifications which he in fact has no intention of making. Such a theory cannot be rejected out of hand, but some available evidence--see para 12-- tends to refute it, and it imputes to Videla a more Machiavellian turn of mind--and a greater ability to dissemble--than he appears to merit.

12. GOA Must Depend Upon Security Forces. Videla must be aware of the myriad human rights violations, but the factors behind his failure to curb those abuses are probably far more complex than those suggested in the paragraph above. First,

unlike the present Chilean or Uruguayan govts, the GOA faces a dangerous terrorist threat from the left, one which if not brought under control could paralyze the economy and threaten the very existence of the govt. To defeat that threat, the Videla govt must rely on the existing security forces. So long as the threat from the left is there, therefore, the govt will hesitate to take steps to curb the excesses of the security forces if there is a high risk that in so doing it might demoralize, divide or alienate them. Evidence that the govt would like to control them, however, was seen in the appointment in early July of Gen Corbetta as Chief of Federal Police. Corbetta stated publicly that he would not tolerate illegal methods and he made genuine efforts to stop them. His efforts unfortunately coincided with the bombing of police headquarters in early July. Within days, police extremists had reacted by killing five Catholic priests and dozens of other victims. Corbetta was soon forced out by a near mutiny of the police and replaced by an officer who, while described as having the same inclinations as Corbetta, took command with a public expression of support for the police and any measures they deemed necessary to defeat subversion. The govt had tried and failed to control the police. (see Buenos Aires 4852)

13. Divisions Within Govt. Secondly, Videla must concern

himself not only with the reaction of the security forces, but

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Classification

must also guard his flanks within his own institution. There are many officers who regard him as too soft, others who oppose his govt's economic program, and still others who are bitterly opposed to the opening to the civilian political sectors which Videla and Viola hope at some point to bring about. Some observers hold that should Videla move to force the human rights issue before he has consolidated his political position, the result might be that in the ensuing turmoil he and his moderate followers would be removed from office and be replaced by hardliners who would not even wish to restrain counterterrorism.

14. Lack of Coordination. Finally, the Junta system itself is a contributing factor. Collegiate rule and division of responsibilities among the three services militate against a strong central authority and clear lines of command. This results in a situation in which each Corps commander, each provincial governor, each municipal interventor and so on down the line, tends to operate with a high degree of independence. If a commander, or governor, is anti-Semitic, then Jews in his district are likely to have a hard time. If he is anti-Radical, UCR headquarters may be closed, etc. This is further complicated by an absence of coordination among the services or among individual units. Confusion often seems to reign. People working for the Army are arrested by the Navy. People who have been given a clean bill of health and released from

~~SECRET~~

Classification



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Page 14 of

EAC

5637

detention in one zone are arrested the next day in another.

Until this situation is corrected, until there are clear guidelines and clear lines of command from a strong central authority capable of enforcing its orders, excesses on the part of the security forces are not likely to be effectively controlled.

15. Conclusions. In sum, while human rights abuses are certainly occurring in Argentina, they do not appear to result from a policy on the part of the top levels of the GOA; rather, they represent acts on the part of elements of the security forces which the present leaders of the govt, because of the conditions mentioned above, are hampered or prevented from controlling. This is not to say the GOA does not, in the end, bear responsibility. And if the present leaders cannot in due time bring their subordinates under control, they cannot expect to continue to convince other govts or private investors that the GOA is worthy of confidence. Hence, what is in question more than anything else are the intentions--and the ability--of the present leadership to clear up lines of command, bring the security forces firmly under control, and curb human rights violations. There is some evidence that they are moving in that direction. Sanctions have been promised against those (police) responsible for the mass murder on Aug 20 (see I Corps Commander, moreover, has instructed Buenos Aires 5521). ~~Further projected changes in the military~~

~~SECRET~~

Classification

military forces in his area to apprehend "unauthorized" persons or groups operating against leftists (see IR 6804 0212). Further, projected changes in the military command structure may represent a first step on Videla's part toward consolidating his position. Certainly most Argentine political, religious and labor leaders with whom we are in contact, while very disturbed over the excesses, at this point, remain willing to give Videla the benefit of the doubt and hope that he will yet right these wrongs. Indeed, they have few other options, for the consensus of opinion is that if Videla and the moderates are replaced, they will be replaced by hardliners, even less acceptable to those concerned over human rights. A high-ranking official of the Office of the Presidency recently stated to Emboff: "We know we must get human rights matter under control and we want to do so, but if we move precipitately the only result may be the overthrow of Videla, and what good will that do the cause of human rights in Argentina?" The President of the Peronist Party, Deolindo Bittel, virtually echoed these words in a remark to Emboffs on Aug 26 concerning possibility of improvement in human rights situation. "To be sure, there must be rectifications," he said, "but it would be folly to push Videla so hard that we push his govt to failure."

CHAPLIN *me*~~SECRET~~

Classification

CONTROL 5572  
30 AUG 76 1735

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
**TELEGRAM**

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

GDS

TAGS:

SHUM, PINT, AR

SUBJECT:

Human Rights: Voices of Concern Beginning to Be Heard

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 5672

Ref: (A) Buenos Aires 5637 (B) Buenos Aires 5521

Charge  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. We are beginning to see an increasing outspokenness on political violence and human rights situation from liberal and moderate political circles, the Catholic Church, and elements of the press. It is cautious, expressed often in euphemistic terms, and by no means constitutes any great upsurge of repudiation of the present GOA or its leaders, but it is a qualitative change from the situation prevailing from the March coup to only recently.

2. Some of this evidence of growing concern is coming to us in individual contacts with a considerable range of representative political figures, Churchmen, journalists, and even some civilian career officials in the GOA. Most of these individuals were content to see the military takeover on March 24. They believed President Videla's promises to control the

DRAFTED BY:

POL:RSSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE

8/27/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith WSS

CLEARANCES:

POL/R:DLSmock

DAO:ColPACoughlin

~~NO BROWNY~~

Charge: MChaplin

SEARCHED ☒ INDEXED ☒  
SERIALIZED ☒ FILED ☒

AUG 1 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATION



Classification

oppose or openly criticize

No one appears to be prepared to ~~not against~~ the govt over this  
~~XXXXXX means prepared to XXXXX (not are they certain what they~~  
situation,

~~XXXXXX~~, (since there appear to be no acceptable alternatives  
to the Videla govt), but concern is growing.

4. Second change can be dated to beginning of July when left-  
ist terrorists killed Federal Police Chief and then bombed  
central police headquarters leaving many dead and injured.

Vicious counter-terrorist reaction from security forces  
(acting clandestinely), including killing of several priests  
and dumping of slaughtered bodies all over Buenos Aires,  
shocked many Argentines into new awareness of just how far  
things have gone. Subsequent counter-terrorist kidnappings  
and murders, which now considerably overshadow efforts of  
leftist terrorists, have struck home among politicians and  
Churchmen. Union Civica Radical (UCR), the moderate center  
of Argentine politics and the largest non-Peronist party,  
has for example just issued a statement signed by Ricardo  
Balbin and other leaders, deploring the disappearance of two  
of its former legislators, Solari Yrigoyen and Amaya. State-  
ment is carefully worded so as not to directly say what all  
know--that the two congressmen were taken officially or  
unofficially by the security forces, but readers are left in  
little doubt as to who the UCR considers is responsible. UCR  
also condemns the "barbaric mass immolation" of 30 bodies  
found in Pilar (Buenos Aires 5521)!

5. Expressions of concern voiced by Catholic Church were

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

~~FOOTING IN BUENOS AIRES IS THAT HE HAS THREATENED TO "PICK HIS  
ONES" UNLESS GOA FORNANCEES SECRETLY OFFERS~~

7. Third development directly related to second, above, is increasing fear. It is becoming evident to Argentines that it is not only the terrorist or real subversive who is in danger from the counter-terrorism, but anyone, even priests, who is considered by the very broad standards of the counter-terrorists to be a threat. Liberals and moderates are beginning to realize that they, their families, colleagues and friends are not exempt. ~~Nowhere is the terrorist and counter-~~

XXXXXXXXXXXXXX.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
*Classification*

8. Finally, mass murder of 30 young people found in Pilar, and possibly another 16 or 17 found in another location, is generally attributed to police, and has lifted level of violence in public eyes to a new dimension. Even those Argentines who dismiss with unconcern the whole human rights problem are now recognizing that sheer numbers involved in latest atrocity, and its blatentness, have shocked both domestic and international opinion into new awareness of problem in Argentina. There are reports that President Videla was stunned and outraged by Pilar massacre, although it is not clear whether from a concern with human rights or over lack of discretion of police. We have been told that Videla knows who is responsible, and intends to do something about it (Buenos Aires 5521). There are unconfirmed reports/<sup>August 27</sup> today that some 50 Buenos Aires Province police who were on duty in Pilar area during night of massacre have been arrested for investigation. It may be that GOA leaders are finally being forced into at least an effort to sanction those responsible for the killings.

9. We do not wish to suggest that public opinion is rising in outrage against the GOA. Many sectors of Argentine society, especially in the upper and middle classes, heartily approve of the counter-terrorism and do not hesitate to say so even to American diplomats. The moderates of the center and liberal political and Church circles are more concerned





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12 AUG 76  
1306

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
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☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

ACTION:

Info:

GDS

PINS, PFOR, SHUM, SREF, AR

Foreign Embassies' Reaction to Missing Nationals, Refugees, Asylees

SecState WASHDC

AmEmbassy BONN  
" MADRID  
" PARIS  
" ROME

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 5299

Ref:

(A) Buenos Aires 5109, (B) Buenos Aires 5218

Charge  
POL-4  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Summary. Cases of missing or arbitrarily detained foreign nationals continue to concern embassies in Argentina and fuel Argentina's bad press abroad. USG's protest of denial of consular access to detained American priest remains unanswered. West German govt received a negative reply from President Videla to its inquiries on whereabouts of two missing Germans. Italians have some 40 citizens in undefined status. In addition to problems with their own nationals, several embassies feel themselves increasingly pressured by refugee problem, especially after refugee invasion of Canadian Embassy. End Summary.

2. Cases of foreign citizens missing or detained without

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POL:YThayer:mg

DRAFTING DATE

8/12/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

Charge: MChaplin

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED

AUG 13 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES

charge under state of siege continue to perturb several embassies in Argentina and reverberate in the foreign press. Not counting the many hundreds of South American exiles detained in Argentina, there are at present some 40 Italians, 5 West Germans, ~~and~~ 8 French and 2 Americans either missing or detained for ostensibly political reasons. A number of them are dual nationals.

3. Although intense pressure by the Israeli govt secured the release of five Israeli and three Argentine Jews August 4 after two weeks in jail (reftel A), efforts by other govts have met with considerably less success. (The freed Jewish youths are still working in Argentina and the Israeli govt apparently considers the incident a "misunderstanding.") USG's strong protest over denial of consular access to American priest James Weeks has not yet been answered (ref B). President Videla delivered a negative reply Monday (August 9) to West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's July 7 letter on behalf of two Germans--one a dual national--missing since early April. In his four-page reply, Videla expressed his concern and cooperation but denied that the two are in hands of Argentine authorities. Chancellor Schmidt had said that the case, which has aroused intense interest and a hunger strike in Germany, could seriously damage relations between the two countries. A German Embassy source said/<sup>FRG</sup>~~XXX~~ is considering its next step.

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Classification

4. Other embassies have been similarly frustrated. Various consular officers have charged that Argentina disregards the Vienna Convention provisions concerning consular access. The French Consul told Emboff that each time he has formally requested access to one French prisoner being held under state of siege, the prisoner has been removed to another jail. Italians, Spanish and others--as well as US--have been denied consular access.

5. When possible, embassies try to have the foreign detainee expelled. To date, 46 foreigners have been expelled from Argentina under a March 24 decree that authorizes the Executive to expel foreigners who engage in "subversive or disruptive activities." Most have been Chileans or Uruguayans; others include five French, three Italians and one American. Another American--Gwenda Mae Loken--was ordered expelled but later returned to jail in <sup>Rosario</sup> Cordoba for further questioning. GOA has frequently said none of the expellees has been or will be returned to his own country against his will.

6. A number of Western embassies have increased efforts to resettle refugees. UNHCR recently reported that Canada has agreed to take an additional 1,000, Austria 250, Norway 130 and Britain 75. In most cases, however, the quotas refer to all of Latin America and many will come from Chile and elsewhere. Several foreign diplomats have privately worried to Emboffs that their programs extend primarily to Chilean

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refugees, while they are convinced Uruguayan refugees face considerably greater physical danger in Argentina. Denmark, France, Switzerland, and West Germany will continue to consider taking refugees only in exceptional cases.

7. Some Embassies are also tightening security--intensifying visitor checks and restricting public access--to prevent takeovers by refugees seeking asylum, as happened recently in the Canadian Embassy on June 3, when 27 Chilean refugees refused to leave the building, claiming their lives were in danger. All but three have since gone to ~~Canada~~ Canada under that country's immigration program. Another five Chilean refugees are staying at the Italian Embassy. Apparently the Italian govt has not granted them entry and the Embassy is seeking an alternate recipient country. Several Chileans invaded the Swedish Embassy last month but were persuaded to leave.

CHAPLIN 

CONTROL: 5844  
8 Sep 76  
1103

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

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E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:  
  
ACTION:

FROM  
Ambassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

N/A  
PINT, SHUM, AR  
Human Rights Round-Up

Secstate WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 5844

REF (a) Buenos Aires 5756, (b) Buenos Aires 5672

1. Some 780 refugees, mostly Chilean and Uruguayan, have left Argentina in the past three months, according to UNHCR sources.

The latest to leave were 49 Uruguayans who left for Havana

Sept 2. Three hundred more already have resettlement offers outside the country and will leave shortly, sources add.

2. Although the atmosphere among the refugee community had relaxed somewhat in recent weeks--probably because there have been no major incidents of persecution since the disappearance of 23

Uruguayans in mid-July--a recent government regulation on illegal aliens is causing new alarm. On Sept 2, GOA announced that all foreigners without proper documents would have 60 days in which to report to Immigration authorities. Similar regulations, described as necessary to control "migratory fluctuations", have been routinely announced but rarely enforced in the past. Many

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DRAFTED BY:

POL: X Ythayer:cc

CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE

9/7/76

TEL. EXT.

121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSESmith

CHARGE: MChaplin

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SEP 8 1976	
LEGAL ATTACHE--BUENOS AIRES	

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CLASSIFICATION

[ of the estimated 500,000 illegal residents have always been welcome as low-cost additions to the labor force, particularly in border towns. This time, however, refugees fear it will be used against them. As GOA does not share the UNHCR's definition of a refugee under UN protection, nor has it cooperated in providing refugees with Argentine documents in the past, it remains to be <sup>seen</sup> /if--and how--the govt intends to press compliance or sanctions on the some 20,000 persons illegally in the country for political reasons. UNHCR officials have told Emboff that right now their hands are tied and they must wait to see how the government enforces the regulation once the 60-day deadline is up.

3. La Opinion reported Sept 1 that at least 20 asylees are housed in three foreign Embassies--Austria, Italy and Mexico. Ex-President Hector Campora and his son have reportedly not requested safe conduct out of the country from the Mexican Embassy where they have been since the coup. The paper noted that a number of the asylees leave the Embassies occasionally to visit family and friends and go about the city apparently with no major worries.

4. Former UCR legislators Solari Irigoyen and Amaya remain detained (see ref a) "almost incommunicado" according to friends, in Fifth Corps headquarters. Authorities say they are still studying the case of the two lawyers who were kidnapped from their homes August 17 and later dumped at a police checkpoint

in Rio Negro. Meanwhile, in a note to UCR National Committee members on Friday, Sept 3, an Interior Ministry official reprimanded them for releasing an appeal for the safety of the two kidnapped lawyers Aug 25. The official gratuitously said that the UCR appeal gave "a false impression of party activities, which had been suspended in order to insure internal peace".

5. The Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, a group of religious and political persons formed last December, completed its first working session last week, Sept 1, by inviting all Argentines to join in its fight for "peace and the right to live without fear". The sessions were divided into four topics: the right to live, security and national defense, constitutional precedence, and the protection of constitutional freedoms. The previous week, the Assembly had strongly protested increasing violations of human rights in a message to President Videla (see ref b).

6. Significantly, in a declaration Aug 28, the Buenos Aires Lawyers Association added its voice to those previously raised against rising violence. Citing the assassination of General Actis and the kidnapping of Solari Irigoyen and Amaya as well as the disappearance of two Buenos Aires member lawyers, the Association repudiated the rise of uncontrolled violence and called on the government to "lead the country back to the path of law and respect for human rights and constitutional guarantees".

7. An American priest from <sup>Cordoba</sup> ~~Ensenada~~, told Embaff today, Sept 7, that the five seminarians arrested with Father James Weeks in early August are still in jail in <sup>Cordoba</sup> ~~Ensenada~~ but that authorities have promised to do what they can to "accelerate" the investigation. The priest, Frederick Kettner, picked up student visa applications for the seminarians who will continue their studies in the US if and when they are released.

8. Note: Human rights roundup series is not intended as primary reporting instrument on subject; rather, it is being initiated as device through which developments not necessarily warranting cable in and of themselves can be brought to attention of Department in timely fashion. Series will also be used to report minor developments in ongoing cases (such as Solari Irigoyen and Amaya cases) which may have been subjects of separate reports.

CHAPLIN *the*



# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 5908  
10 Sep 76  
1606

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM <b>Embassy BUENOS AIRES</b>	CLASSIFICATION <del>LIMITED OFFICIAL USE</del>
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E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

M/A  
SHUM, PINS, AR  
Status of Argentine Juan Mendez

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 5908

Ref:

State 221837

AMB  
CHARGE  
POL-4  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

IX Embassy has no new information on Mendez case. However, it is not uncommon that persons remain in jail under state of siege even after they are cleared or charges brought against them. Authorities often claim they have not received official orders to release apparently acquitted prisoners, which could mean further investigations are underway or simply that the process from the courts to local authorities has been stalled somewhere along the way. Embassy will report new developments.

CHAPLIN

DRAFTED BY:

POL:Thayer:mg

LEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE

3/10/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSmith

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LEGAL ATTACHE BUENOS AIRES	

*Human Rights file*

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# TELEGRAM

28 Sep 76  
1241
 INDICATE  
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FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

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 E.O. 11652:  
 TAGS:  
 SUBJECT:

 N/A  
 PFOR, SHUM, PINS, AR  
 Congressional Interest in Juan Mendez

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6365

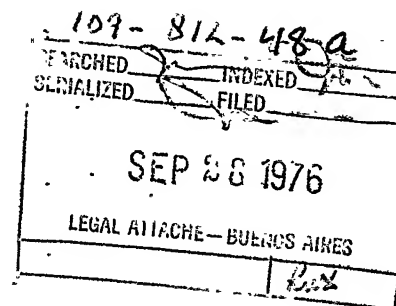
Ref:

State 238765

Embassy has already expressed personal interest and made  
 unofficial inquiries on behalf of Juan Mendez to FonMinistry,  
 so far without result.

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HNL


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9/27/76TEL. EXT.  
121
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 POL: WSSmith

AMB: RCH11

DCM: MChaplin

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CONTROL: 5909  
10 Sep 76  
1609

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM: AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES CLASSIFICATION: ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

H/A  
SHUM, AR  
Disappearance of Carmen Sabino

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 5909

Ref:

State ~~221838~~ 221838

AMB  
CHARGE  
POL-4  
POL/R  
ECON  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT ✓  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Embassy in contact with Ford Foundation on case. Foundation official told Embaffs that Miss Sabino was taken from her apartment by unidentified men August 29, who later picked up her typewriter. Apparently she is suspected of preparing subversive literature. A writ of habeas corpus has been filed.
2. Embassy's unofficial inquiries to GOM have turned up no new information.

CHAPLIN

DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThayer:mg

CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE

9/10/76

TEL. EXT.

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

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LEGAL ATTA BUREAU	

*Human Rights file*

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CLASSIFICATION

7 Jan 77  
1636

## TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
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FROM

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

NA

SHUM AR

Status of Argentine National Juan Mendez

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 0150

BA 7429

REF: ~~SECRET 221837~~ and othersAMB  
DCM  
POL3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP2  
SCIAT  
LEGAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Julio Mendez, father of Juan Mendez, told Emboff Jan. 6 that a decree authorizing his son to leave Argentina was "on President Videla's desk" and would likely be signed within three weeks. Mr. Mendez said he received this news yesterday from an Under Secretary of the Ministry of Interior. Mr. Mendez refuted the information given to Cong. Drinan by Interior official Colonel Flouret that there were three charges pending against his son. He said that the Under Secretary assured him that Flouret was misinformed, that there were no outstanding charges against his son and that his "good name and honor" would not be impugned. Mr. Mendez also remarked that although the Judge responsible for the case had recommended Juan Mendez be allowed to leave the country, the family decided that rather than continue to work for his release through the Justice Ministry Mendez should petition the Interior Ministry to leave Argentina as

DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThayer:jr

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TEL. EXT.

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

APOLCOUNS:AGFreeman

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JAN 10 1977

BUENOS AIRES

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CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

permitted by a recent decree.

2. Mr. Mendez said that his son's petition included his intention to leave for either France or the US, if authorized to leave Argentina. Although he intends to resettle in the US, he would go via France if necessary (i.e., if he were unable to get a US visa immediately--see septel on discussions with FonMinistry human rights working group; or if the decree specifically authorizes his departure only to France). Mr. Mendez said that when the decree is signed he would contact the US Embassy to try to arrange son's visa to US. Mendez said that he has been in direct contact with Congressmen Koch, Railsback and Drinan, all of whom have allegedly pledged to help facilitate Juan Mendez' entrance into the US. He added that his son has never been a member of the Communist party and has no police record. Mr. Mendez also told Emboff that he received a letter in December from Cong. Koch in which the congressman said he intended to present a bill in the 1977 Congressional session to recommend the parole program be extended to include Argentine citizens. (Mr. Mendez is aware that such a step would take some time and is hopeful that his son can get a regular visa to the US.)

~~HILL~~

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6309

24 Sep 76  
1900

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM  
Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR  
SUBJECT: Human Rights Round-Up

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6309

pp. 1, 3 + 4

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 5844, (B) BUENOS AIRES 5979,  
(C) BUENOS AIRES 5954

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. UCR politicians Hipolito Solari Irigoyen and Mario Abel Amaya are now being officially held by Executive authority under stage of siege, sources report. Previously the two were being held for "questioning" in a military garrison, following their kidnapping and reappearance August 30. Former Economy Minister Antonio Cafiero is also under detention at the disposition of the Executive in Buenos Aires, despite the fact that he was exonerated three weeks ago of any irregularities in a state-owned winery while he was Interventor in Mendoza.

2. In the past week's only reported attack against a Jewish establishment, the Argentine Hebraic Society was hit by a bomb thrown from a moving car Sept. 21. The number of reported anti-Semitic incidents has fallen off considerably

DRAFTED BY: POL:YTH/ver/kjl DRAFTING DATE: 9-24-76 TEL. EXT. 121 CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: POL:WSSmith

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AMB:RChill

SEP 27 1976

DCM:MChaplin

LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES  
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FO-413)  
January 1975  
Dept of State

since a rash of bombing attacks in late August and early September. GOA banned some anti-Semitic publications and closed the pro-Nazi Editora Milicia Sept. 14 (see ref B).

3. Seven Peruvian students returned to Peru Sept. 17 and another five on Sept. 19 following death threats addressed to 23 Peruvian students at the University of La Plata in late August (see ref C). GOA announced Sept. 14 that all foreign students would be counted between Oct. 4-8 to ascertain their student status.

4. Refugees continue to leave Argentina, most of them Uruguayans, Chileans and Paraguayans destined for resettlement in Europe. Fifteen left for Sweden and Switzerland on Sept. 19; another nineteen went to Paris, Geneva and Vienna on Sept. 23. The UNHCR director told Emboffs Sept. 13 that the resettlement effort is progressing well, but that he fears that when Europe fulfills its offered quotas, many refugees will be left behind in Argentina. Sweden and Denmark, he said, have sent special immigration personnel to Buenos Aires to review selected cases. The director said that he has sought assurances from Argentine immigration officials that the recent requirement for illegal aliens to register with Argentine authorities by early November will not be used against refugees. Many of the refugees are afraid of identifying themselves to

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Classification

Argentine authorities, he said, despite UNHCR efforts to have them comply with the new law.

5. Meanwhile, diverse groups continue to press the government on human rights cases. The Argentine Actors Association Sept. 21 issued a statement demanding an investigation into the disappearance of four of its members, who disappeared separately in recent weeks. Amnesty International on Sept. 20 urged President Videla to investigate charges that Uruguayan security officials had kidnapped Uruguayan citizens in Buenos Aires and demanded ransoms for their ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ release. The allegation was made by an Uruguayan citizen recently arrived in Sweden from Argentina who claimed he had been forced to act as an intermediary in ransom demands.

6. The Popular Socialist Party sent telegrams Sept. 22 to President Videla and the Interior Ministry appealing for the release of 70-year-old former deputy Pablo Legarraga, who has been held incommunicado for several days in a military prison in Bahia Blanca. GOA publicly criticized the UCR three weeks ago for disobeying the ban on political activities by issuing a statement in the name of the party on behalf of Solari Irigoyen and Amaya (see para one).

7. At its Assembly in Corrientes, the Argentine Newspaper Publishers Association (ADEPA) yesterday (Sept. 23) again strongly appealed to the government to restore freedom of



the press in spite of "the closures, threats, attacks and kidnappings". ADEPA president Juan Valmaggia also said that President Videla had acknowledged earlier ADEPA pleas on behalf of missing and arbitrarily detained journalists and said he would pass on the information to "appropriate authorities". In a related case, the Cordoba paper Los Principios reappeared today after 12 days closure. The paper was officially shut down for six days for criticizing excessive military budgets and refused to publish for another six in protest of the arrest of seven of its journalists. Three remain detained at disposition of the Executive. ~~Corrientes~~ newspaper Epoca remains shut since Sept. 3.

HILL

W's cleared by Phone

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

Classification

CONTROL: 6003

24 Sep 76  
1856

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION <del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>
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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CVIS  
SUBJECT: Visas for Witnesses for Congressional Hearings

ACTION: SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE

Info: AmEmbassy MEXICO PRIORITY  
" ROME PRIORITY  
" SANTIAGO PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 6308

Ref: State 235506

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
R RF  
CHRON

1. Embassy files show Rudolfo Puiggros to be a former member of the Communist Party and therefore ineligible for a visa under 212 (a) (28).
2. Puiggros is a well-known Marxist who reportedly left the Communist Party because it was too rigid and conservative for his tastes. As rector of the University of Buenos Aires in 1973, Puiggros was widely held responsible for the deep ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Communist inroads and revolutionary leftist take-over of UBA during the Hector Campora government. Ousted in former President Juan Peron's purge of Marxists in 1973, Puiggros dramatically and unnecessarily sought asylum in the Mexican Embassy, and later settled as a voluntary exile in

PP1+2

DRAFTED BY: POL:YThayer:mg	DRAFTING DATE 9/24/76	TEL. EXT. 121	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: POL:WSSmith
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CLEARANCES:

CONS:WHitchcock by substance

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
POL:WSSmith  
DCM:MChaplin

SEP 27 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975

Mexico.

3. Puiggros is one of 36 former Peronist officials who was stripped of his political rights by the military junta's "Act of Institutional Responsibility June 23. Under the act, officials accused of negligence, corruption, or subversive leanings in execution of their public duties lose their right to vote, hold office or appointive public sector jobs and may be detained at convenience of executive authority.

4. Embassy files show no derogatory information on exiled leftist poet Juan Gelman. It should be noted, however, that Gelman's daughter, son and daughter-in-law disappeared August 24, apparently abducted by extremist groups. A writ of habeas corpus was filed but no further information has come available.

HILL

WS cleared by Phone

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Classification

# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6364  
28-Sep-76  
1240

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

N/A

TAGS:

SHUM, PINS, AR

SUBJECT:

Query re Francisco Jalics

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6364

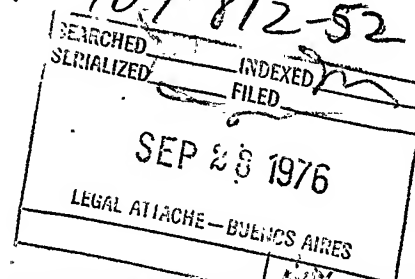
Ref:

State 236295

Embassy is aware that Francisco Jalics was arrested in May under state of siege, but has no further information concerning his legal status. So far, GOA has been very slow to process state of siege cases, although the Constitution guarantees that charges must be brought and trials called for all those detained by the Executive. We will report any new developments.

AMB  
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POL-3  
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MILGP-2  
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HILL



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SEP 28 1976	
LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES	

DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThay:mg

DRAFTING DATE

9/28/76

TEL. EXT.

121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

AMB:RCHill

DCM:MChaplin

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975

# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6338  
27 Sep 76  
1643

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION ~~SECRET~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

GDS  
PINT, PINS, SHUM, AR, CI  
Query from B'Nai B'rith

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 6338

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Embassy inquiries have so far turned up no information on the cases of Ernesto Benado Rejovisky and Dr. Mario Schraier.

We will continue to follow the cases and report any new developments.

2. Our files do, however, include a Chilean Ernesto Benado (no second surname given) allegedly arrested in November 1975, who is probably the person referred to in the query. According to our information, Ernesto Benado is a militant Communist who was deeply involved in the Chilean left. As ~~xxxxxx~~ reported in a secret memorandum from Robert Zimmerman to Joseph Grunwald July 23, 1976, Benado was known to have headed a Chinese Communist-supported cultural institute in Chile and a pro-Chinese Communist splinter group of the Chilean Communist Party. We understood that he had been arrested in November 1975 by the former Peronist government and there was some speculation that

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POL:YThayer:mg

DRAFTING DATE  
9/27/76

53  
CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

AMB:RChill *by phone*  
DCM:MChaplin *in*

SEP 27 1976

~~SECRET~~  
CLASSIFICATION

he might have been forceably repatriated to Chile, although we have nothing to support that charge, nor any other information concerning his present status. This information on Benado is strictly ~~confidential~~ and the Department should use discretion in responding to Rabbi Rosenthal.

HILL

CONTROL: 6473

01 OCT 76

1540

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE

☐ COLLECT

☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

E.O. 11652:

GDS

TAGS:

CVIS, SHUM, PFOR, AR, US

SUBJECT:

Witnesses for Fraser Sub-Committee

ACTION:

Secstate WASHDC

INFO

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"

SANTIAGO

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 6473

KKK

FOR H

REF

(a) State 235506, (b) State 239312, (c) Buenos Aires 6396

1. For many months this Embassy has been pressing GOA on the subject of human rights. One of the major obstacles that we have faced is a siege mentality on the part of the Argentine military (i.e. the conviction that they are locked in a no-holds-barred struggle with International Communism) and the concomitant belief that criticism from abroad on the human rights issue reflects or is stimulated by the Communists. We have worked diligently to disabuse the govt here of such a simplistic view. We have insisted that there are serious, responsible people in the US who have nothing to do with the extreme left and who are concerned over issue of human rights.

2. Our efforts in this regard are not helped at all by the fact

DRAFTED BY:

POL:WSSmith *WSS*

DRAFTING DATE

10/1/76

TEL. EXT.

128

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMB:RCHill *RCHill*

CLEARANCES:

CONS:GHuey (in draft) *WSS*

COPIES

DCM:McChaplin *McChaplin*

*Human Rights file*

OCT 1 1976

*109-812-54*

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CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975

~~that Department sought to experiment with for these witnesses~~  
~~with no opportunity to provide an answer from the expert~~

### Classification



# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM  
AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

N/A

TAGS:

SHUM, PFOR, AR

SUBJECT:

Newspaper Owner Asks to Testify at House Hearings on Argentina

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6490

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
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CHRON

1. Jacobo Timerman, owner and editor of the influential independent Buenos Aires daily La Opinion, called Press Officer Sept 30 in high dudgeon over what he considered biased testimony being given by Argentine exiles before Fraser sub-committee. He asked for guidance on how he could volunteer to go to Washington himself to speak before the Committee. Acting on suggestion that he communicate directly with Committee, Timerman sent letter addressed to Congressman Fraser, which he also published in the Oct 1 issue of his newspaper.

2. Letter expresses Timerman's concern that Committee *story, and notes that La Opinion has opposed violence and abuse of* is hearing biased testimony giving only part of human rights no matter what the source. He then asks to be invited to testify, to help Committee to understand

DRAFTED BY:

POL:RSSteven/pm

DRAFTING DATE

10/1/76

TEL. EXT.

128

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSmith (12/5)

CLARANCES:

USIS:MO'Brien (in draft)

SEARCHED

INDEXED

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FILED

DCM:MChaplin

AMB:RChill

OCT 1 1976

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

human rights situation of all Argentines and avoid an unnecessary deterioration in relations between the two countries.

3. COMMENT: Timerman and his paper have well-earned reputation for courage and firm independence in matter of human rights, attacking violence and abuses both of the security forces and of the terrorists. La Opinion has also taken lead in exposing and protesting anti-Semitism. His gesture will be noted in Argentina, and will convince even more members of GOA, the military, and the general public that witnesses called by Committee, and purposes of hearing itself, are so biased as to raise questions concerning motivation. It must also be noted, without detracting from his other qualities, that Timerman is something of an opportunistic and will not have failed to see a fine opportunity to gain some favorable publicity in Argentina for his paper and himself.

HILL  


# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6494  
02 OCT 76  
0900

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FROM Amembassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION <del>SECRET</del>
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7

D. 11652:  
TAGS: MASS, PFOR, SHUM, AR, US  
SUBJECT: Human Rights Observance Report

ACTION: Secstate WASHDC IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 6494

REF State 241180

Following is submitted in response to reftel. Reftel was received noon, Sept 29 with indication that Embassy should respond by COB Sept 30. Here it is. Response is in four parts:

1. Summary;
2. Embassy's Comments on Report Prepared by Department;
3. Steps Taken by Embassy to Advance Respect for Human Rights in Argentina;
4. Update of Embassy's Overview of Human Rights Situation

1. SUMMARY: Embassy is in basic agreement with report on human rights prepared by Department in response to Congressional request. Embassy has consistently--even before March 24 change of government--pressed issue of human rights observance to GOA. Approaches have been made at all levels and have included series of approaches

RAFTED BY: POL:WSSmith:RSSSteven:YThafer:cc	DRAFTING DATE 9/30/76	TEL. EXT. 128	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: AMB:RCHill <i>by Phone</i>
REFERENCES: IN DRAFT: <i>pac</i> DAO: PACoughlin POL/R: DSmock			DCM: MChaplin ECOM: WBeal LEGATT: RScherrer

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CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 155  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975



Classification

as a result of left and right-wing terrorism. Since the coup, political violence has claimed at least 1,000 lives.

Serious mismanagement of the economy under Peron contributed to the climate of political instability in Argentina and vice versa. At the time of the coup, the consumer price index was increasing at a 566 annual rate with a rising trend, there was deepening recession, and an external payments crisis threatened an Argentine default on foreign debts.

The new government's first priorities were to contain inflation, refinance the foreign debt and fight leftist terrorism, the latter perceived as the greatest threat to the government's economic and political plans. In this climate, right-wing terrorism grew at an alarming rate. While Argentina's immediate economic problems are being dealt with, recession and labor discontent over falling real wages continue.

The security forces have taken strong action against leftist terrorists, killing hundreds and arresting thousands. It is clear that counter or right-wing terrorism, which first appeared under Peron in 1974, has involved elements of the Argentine security forces. Whatever Videla's personal views and wishes may be (and he has promised to respect human rights), effective steps to control this kind of terrorism have not yet

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been taken. Under Peron, right-wing terrorists attacked the regime's political opponents as well as terrorists on the left. Since March 1976, a wide spectrum of leftist and progressive individuals, and even ordinary citizens, have been victimized, including priests and foreign political refugees.

Leftist terrorism dates to 1969 and has been responsible for hundreds of political assassinations and kidnappings. Policemen, military personnel, and businessmen have often been shot at random. In 1975, the consular agent in Cordoba, John Patrick Egan, was murdered by leftist terrorists, while USIA officer Alfred Laun narrowly escaped death in the same city.

B. Legal Situation. The Argentine Constitution of 1853 is technically in effect, but, in practice, the decrees and laws promulgated by <sup>the military</sup> ~~both de jure and de facto~~ government take precedence even over constitutional provisions. This principle has been consistently upheld by the Argentine Supreme Court. The Argentine Constitution is closely patterned after the United States Constitution and provides most of the legal guarantees that ours does. The major exception is a "State of Siege" provision, which gives the federal government power to suspend habeas corpus temporarily, hold suspects indefinitely and to move accused persons from place to place within the country without consent. Arrested persons are supposed to

have recourse to trial eventually or be released. The State of Siege has been in effect since November 6, 1974.

C. Observance of Internationally-Recognized Human Rights.

1. Integrity of the Person:

Article 3: Life, Liberty and Security of the Person.

This Article is violated regularly by elements of the GOA security forces, whether operating in an on-duty or off-duty status. Their method of operation is well known: civilian clothes, movement at night in unmarked cars, kidnappings, torture and even murder. There are no statistics on ~~right~~ the ~~they~~ they have committed ~~the~~ atrocities/but the number of victims is in the hundreds and includes many foreign refugees.

In the most notorious episode, on August 20 thirty leftist prisoners were executed <sup>in Pilar</sup> in part as a retaliation for the murder of General Actis and in part as a warning to leftist extremists before anticipated actions to mark the anniversary of the Trelew massacre of 1972. The government condemned the mass murder as a "barbaric episode," although there is no doubt that the GOA's own security forces were responsible.

Article 5: Torture, Cruel, Inhuman, Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Torture is undoubtedly used by the security forces to extract <sup>some</sup> information from/prisoners, particularly suspected or proven terrorists. Once they are actually "booked," however, prisoners apparently receive more or less reasonable treatment.

Article 9: Arbitrary Arrest, Detention or Exile.

The security forces have detained numerous persons for investigation and questioning under the provisions of the State of Siege or other laws, e.g., arms control laws. Some are held indefinitely but others are freed after a short time and still others passed on to the procedures of the regular courts or to military courts martial when this is prescribed by law. An estimated 3,000 to 5,000 persons are now detained under the provisions of the State of Siege. The Argentine government has released no total or list of those detained, and as various individuals are released others are detained; hence, it is impossible to determine how many prisoners are being held or for how long.

Article 11: Fair Trial.

Argentine courts function normally in most cases. The exception applies to individuals held under the State of Siege. Some of these are freed, some passed on to the procedures of the regular courts, others to courts martial and still others held without charges or acknowledgment of their detention. Right-wing intimidation of lawyers and judges makes it very difficult for prisoners accused of subversion to receive a "fair trial," (in the few cases in which there have been trials). Before March, it was the left wing which threatened court officials thereby influencing decisions.

2. Other Important Freedoms:

Article 18: Thought and Religion.



Anti-Semitism, a recurrent problem in Argentina for decades, was recently manifested anew by right-wing attacks against Jewish synagogues and shops. There have been no reports of deaths or injuries as a result of anti-Semitic incidents. The GOA has condemned such actions and moved to ban anti-Semitic literature.

Article 19: Expression and Opinion.

Some right-wing and left-wing extremist publications in Argentina have been banned by the Videla government. This includes Marxist as well as anti-Semitic literature. The Argentine press is required to exercise self-censorship, and is specifically prohibited from mentioning terrorist and anti-terrorist operations unless officially authorized by the government. On August 21, the Argentine Newspapers Owners Association, representing over 100 editors and publishers, complained to President Videla about press restrictions. There is, nevertheless, criticism of human rights abuses in the Argentine press. Few journalists have suffered arrest and only for short periods. Foreign correspondents file their stories freely.

Article 20: Assembly.

Upon taking power in March, the military Junta dissolved the parliament and banned political and labor activity. Some labor unions were intervened and, on September 8, a law was passed providing up to ten years in prison for strike organizers.

D. Available Non-USG Human Rights Reporting by Multilateral and Non-Governmental Organizations and Media. Many organizations, including Amnesty International, have denounced human rights violations in Argentina. However, comprehensive reports on the situation in Argentina since March 24, 1976 are not yet available.

3. STEPS TAKEN BY EMBASSY TO ADVANCE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA:

The Embassy made the military aware of the USG's concern with respect for human rights even before the change of government in March. In a conversation before the coup took place, the Ambassador took up the human rights issue with Navy CINC Massera and was assured that "if it took power" the military would scrupulously respect human rights. As an indication of ~~Massera's~~ military's early awareness, President Videla himself was careful to assure the Argentine public and international observers shortly after the coup that human rights would be fully observed.

Since March the Embassy has constantly stressed to the GOA the potential danger to US-Argentine relations if the GOA did not adhere to a policy of respect for human rights. The Ambassador has frankly and frequently discussed this issue with such top-ranking officials as President Videla, Interior Min Harguindeguy, Foreign Min Guzzetti,  
/ and Economy Min Martinez de Hoz. (Reports of these approaches are on file with the Department. Most are classified ~~secret~~.)

Exdis or Limdis. We leave it to the discretion of the Department as to whether or not they should be referred to in a report to Congress.) In addition to the Ambassador's approaches, Embassy officers at all levels have taken every opportunity to express US concern over human rights and possible consequences with their colleagues and contacts in the govt and with religious, professional and business leaders. Human rights has been a recurring topic at both social and official gatherings. The Economic Counselor has discussed human rights at periodic meetings with prominent Argentine businessmen and officials of the Economy and other ministries. In an Aide Memoire to the Foreign Ministry Sept 23, the Embassy reviewed the specific US legislation which makes the provision of economic, developmental and security assistance dependent on the recipient govt's observance and practice of internationally-recognized human rights standards. Texts of the pertinent provisions of the new security assistance legislation and the Harkin amendment were also supplied to the FonMinistry. Visiting Department officials, including ~~Hewson/Ryan~~, Robert Zimmermann, Fred Rondon and Jim Buchanan have conveyed firsthand or been present when Emboffs conveyed to GOA officials US concern over human rights abuses.

Besides its representations in cases involving American citizens, Emboffs have frequently made informal inquiries to FonMinistry

officials on behalf of missing and arbitrarily detained non-US citizens, such as the five seminarians arrested with Father Weeks in Cordoba, Juan Mendez, Liliana Nazario and Jacobo Tieffenberg, the last two of whom were subsequently released. (These cases have been reported and are on file at the Department.)

In these necessarily unofficial efforts, Emboffs have emphasized the personal concern expressed by members of Congress.

4. UPDATE OF EMBASSY'S OVERVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION: Our

last general summary and judgment on human rights situation in Argentina was submitted one month ago, in Buenos Aires 5637.

At that time, we were in hopes that the highest levels of the GOA might soon be in a position to begin to get the human rights situation in hand. Among other things, sanctions had been promised against those responsible for the mass murder at Pilar, and President Videla seemed to be moving to consolidate his position against the harder liners. Such hopes now appear forlorn. Detained Americans--Father Weeks, Gwenda Mae Loken, and Patricia Erb--have either been released and expelled or/in the process of so being. This indicates a greater responsiveness on the GOA's part to our demarches concerning American citizens (probably flowing from the dawning realization that unresponsiveness could seriously jeopardize Argentine relations with the US). We do not see any such responsiveness, however, in terms of the overall human rights situation. No significant measures

have been taken to curb excesses on the part of the security ~~forces~~ forces. No sanctions were taken against those responsible for the Pilar massacre. On the contrary, it is clear that there was relatively high level authorization for those killings.

Finally, the shifts in the military, which were originally designed to contribute to the consolidation of Videla's position, are now expected to produce nothing of the sort. Indeed, they may not even materialize for another several months. Rather, than improvement, what is seen increasingly is that Videla is either unwilling or unable to curb excesses on the part of the security forces. Nonetheless, in the view of the Embassy, and, indeed, of the GOA's internal critics, such as the UCR, hierarchy Catholic ~~hierarchy~~ and even Bob Cox of the Buenos Aires Herald, there is no better alternative to the Videla government.

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# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6619

7 OCT 76

1437

INDICATE

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FROM	AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION	<del>LIMITED OFFICIAL USE</del>
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E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

N/A

SHUM, PINS, AR

Asylum Request for Argentine Juan Mendez

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6619

REF:

Buenos Aires 6365

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Father of Juan Mendez called on ConsOff September 29, bringing with him a thick file of correspondence on son's case and asking for help in securing asylum for son in U.S. if and when he is released or allowed to exercise the now-suspended right to opt to leave the country. Mendez has been jailed without charge under state of siege for more than 13 months. Father explained that U.S. friends were campaigning among congressmen and human rights organizations to have son released and brought to U.S. ConsOff informed him of U.S. law regarding asylum.

2. Father described his son as a leftist and former member of J., the now outlawed Peronist Youth organization, many of whose members either were Montoneros or ~~MEXE~~ had ties to that leftist extremist group (which makes it doubtful Mendez could

DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThaker:mg

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10/6/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

CLEARANCES:

CONS:MSherman

FORWARDED Smith INDEXED

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AMB:RChill

DCM:McChaplin

LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-113)  
January 1973

get a U.S. tourist visa, or even an Argentine passport, for that matter, once he is released). According to father, Mendez is being satisfactorily treated in the La Plata prison and has been asked by prison authorities to provide legal advice to other prisoners. He is visited by his family twice weekly and is in good health.

~~HILL~~  
HILL

# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6628  
7 OCT 76  
1700

INDICATE  
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FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

N/A

TAGS:

SHUM, PFOR, PGOV, AR

SUBJECT:

Foreign Ministry Establishes Special Office for Human Rights  
Inquiries

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

INFO:

USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION GENEVA

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6628

AMB  
POL-3  
DCM  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MLGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. We have received copy of circular note to all Embassies from FonMinistry which refers to "fact that various governments and international organizations have expressed and continue to express theirpreoccupation over respect for human rights in Argentina, as well as situation in which persons of different nationalities may find themselves within its territory." Note states that authorities wish to cooperate as fully as possible in solution of any problem raised by "legitimate disquiet" over human rights.

2. Therefore, Ministry has established "Working Group" in offic of Under Secretary, which will concentrate on this task. Embassies are asked to request their governments in future to channel all approaches and inquiries on human rights matters to the Working Group.

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POL: ~~XXXXXXXX~~ RSSteven:mg

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10/7/76

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12 SERIALIZED

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

INDEXED Smith

CLEARANCES:

*Human Rights file*

OCT 8 - 1976  
AMB: RChill  
DCM: McChaplin  
LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES

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CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 104  
(Formerly DD FORM 104)  
January 1964



3. We have been informed directly by (Navy) Captain Seisdedos of the Ministry, who has been handling such matters and with whom we have had dealings, that he will head Working Group and will welcome informal direct calls to him on any matter of concern to us. Presumably formal representations such as protest notes will go to the Working Group for action.

4. Comment. It would appear that Ministry has finally recognized that informal arrangement of past, in which Embassies and International Organizations seeking information about their own nationals or other\_s of interest to them approached Ministry through variety of desk officers and other contacts, needed to be formalized and channeled to responsible officer. It may also indicate that GOA is becoming aware ~~that~~ that it has growing problem which will not go away in near future, and that it had best get organized to deal with it. Under these circumstances, our inclination will be to use FonMinistry channel more freely for inquiries on individual human rights cases.

~~HILL~~

# TELEGRAM

7 OCT 76 1212

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FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION <del>LIMITED OFFICIAL USE</del>
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E.O. 11652: N/A  
 TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR  
 SUBJECT: Human Rights Round-Up No. 3

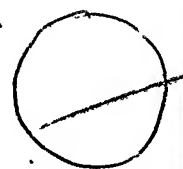
ACTION: SecState WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6611

REF: Buenos Aires 6309

AMB  
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1. GOA has in recent weeks released more than 300 persons whom it found innocent of subversive connections, reported La Opinion October 3. La Opinion noted that the government had made no official announcement, in keeping with its policy of not releasing the names of those detained by the Executive, since such information might be useful to subversive groups. La Opinion further reported that GOA would continue to release innocent persons as it completes its investigations. (At a press conference September 19, Interior Minister Harguindeguy declared it was his policy not to release the names of those detained under state of siege, even though he claimed to have the exact number and all background information on each case. The BA Herald on September 26 again appealed to the government to release the



pp.2

DRAFTED BY: POL:YThayer:mg	DRAFTING DATE 10/6/76	TEL. EXT. 121	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: POL:WSSmith
	CLEARANCES:	SEARCHED	INDEXED
	SERIALIZED	FILED	
		OCT 8 - 1976	
		AMB:RCHill DCM:MChaplin	
LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES			

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 CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
 (Formerly FS-413)  
 January 1975

names as a "definite step toward restoring law and order.")

2. Chilean citizen Guillermina Alicia Gavilan, who had been detained under state of siege, left for London September 28.

Argentine citizen Liliana Nazario, subject of much human rights correspondence, was released from jail September 22 and is now vacationing in Santiago del Estero with her relatives.

3. Sixteen Chilean and Uruguayan refugees left for Geneva and Paris under UNHCR auspices October 1.

4. For the second time in five months, a federal judge ruled that the Constitutional right of persons detained under state of siege to opt to leave the country is in force. In ruling on a writ of habeas corpus, Judge Eugenio Zaffaroni gave the Executive Branch 20 days to release 66-year-old Pablo Alfredo Piza, who has been held without charge since last November. The Federal Prosecutor immediately appealed the decision to the Supreme Court. In an earlier case last May, a different judge ruled that the option was in force because, although it had been suspended by the Junta in March, it was mentioned in a subsequent revision of the penal code. (That ruling was also appealed to the Supreme Court, which has yet to hand down a judgment.) In his later decision, Zaffaroni used the same argument and added that prolonged detention was contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church (official religion of Argentina) and the UN's universal Declaration of Human Rights

to which Argentina is party.

5. President Videla hosted a widely-publicized ecumenical luncheon September 29 for religious leaders of ten different faiths, including the Catholic, Jewish, Islamic, Russian and Greek Orthodox. The churchmen later said that all problems facing the country were fully and frankly discussed. Rabbi Benhamu Anidjar said after the meeting that he hoped "the peace and understanding we found at the President's table are a reflection of what is to come for Argentina."

6. A group of prominent Argentine writers asked President Videla to intercede on behalf of an ailing Argentine writer,

Antonio Di Benedetto, who has been detained without charge in Mendoza since March 24. The letter, published in La Opinion October 5, said Di Benedetto was suffering mental and physical deterioration after being held incommunicado for more than six months.

7. In a rare reported case of legal action taken against the police for "excessive violence," five policemen were arrested in Cordoba on September 23. They were charged in the deaths ~~in the~~ of two persons linked to the drug trade who were kidnapped July 17 and later turned up shot to death in a field.

8. Two young children of an extremist couple killed in a recent shootout with security forces were kidnapped from a hospital September 23, according to an army communique. The communique stated that it was the military's policy to restore

orphans of extremist victims to relatives for adoption. The two children have not yet been found.

9. A Montonero extremist convicted of murdering a policeman was sentenced to "indefinite reclusion" by a court martial in Cordoba September 27. Two other Montoneros were xx sentenced to from four to ten years for illegal possession of firearms and other offenses.

10. The Buenos Aires press has been highly critical of last week's congressional hearings on the human rights situation in Argentina, most attributing the USG's "sudden new interest" in human rights to the international leftist campaign to discredit the country <sup>to</sup> or/irresponsiblē US election year politicking. Reflecting the strongly-held Argentine belief that its battle against subversion is a fight against an international Communist threat, La Nacion October 3 said that paradoxically, instead of assisting its friends against such a threat, the USG is now acting in such a way as to favor its Communist enemies. It blamed "pro-gherrilla influences" for the recent <sup>of</sup> anti-Argentina attitude/the US congress and said it was incorreivable that something as important as the security of the continent should be taken advantage of as a "transitory election issue." La Prensa the same day rejected the ~~committee~~ committee's right to "sit in judgment of a sovereign country" and declared outright that "whoever reproaches the Argentine government defends extremism."

11. Even those newspapers that have been the most outspoken in repudiating violence and human rights abuses in Argentina objected to what they labeled as ~~un~~constructive and insensitive meddling in Argentina's internal affairs. The BA Herald, in its October 2 editorial, charged that human rights campaigns, instead of helping governments to tackle terrorism and protect innocent victims of guerrilla warfare, generally only succeed in making things worse. Argentina, it said, had no need of commissions outside the country "either to protect us or try and exploit us." Observing that what was at stake was some 48 million dollars in US military aid, Herald Columnist James Neilson the next day was even more biting: "That the (Argentin.) military government should expose itself to such humiliations over such a piddling sum is rather incredible--perhaps it should be returned with a note recommending it/<sup>be</sup>spent on victims of US neglect in Detroit (whose violence rivals our own)."

12. The press expressed outrage at the selection of such long-time Communists as Gustavo Roca and Garzon Macedo, and other clearly hostile witnesses, to testify at the Fraser hearings. "Such action clearly throws into doubt the good faith of those responsible," observed La Nacion. La Opinion yesterday ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ (October 5) noted that not one State Department official, not even the American Ambassador to Argentina, had been called to testify. (LA Editor Jacobo Timmerman himself

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~~Classification~~

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wrote Rep. Fraser on September 29 warning against the danger of one-sided witnesses and himself asked to be called to testify.)

  
HILL


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CONTROL: 6575  
6-76-1053

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

E.O. 11652: TAGS: SUBJECT:  ACTION:  REF	FROM	Amembassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION	<del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>
	GDS PFOR, SHUM, AR, US Congressional Letter on Anti-Semitism  Secstate WASHDC IMMEDIATE  <del>CONFIDENTIAL</del> BUENOS AIRES 6575 Buenos Aires 6547			
AMB DCM POL-3 POL/R ECOM CONS USIS DAO MILGP SCIAT LEGAT RF CHRON	1. Embassy has just received through the mail letter to President Videla from 56 U.S. Congressmen deploring incidents of anti-Semitism in Argentina and calling upon Argentine government to do something about them. Embassy is requested to transmit letter to Videla.			
	2. Embassy requests instructions. Our inclination would be to deliver letter to FonMinistry with explanation that we have been requested by Congress to transmit. Does Dept concur?			
 HILL				

109-812-60

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:
POL:WSSmith:cc 1035	10/6/76	128	JAMB ROBERT C. HILL
CLEARANCES:	DCM:MChaplin		

*Human Rights file*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION



# TELEGRAM

8 OCT 76 1223

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM	AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION	<del>LIMITED OFFICIAL USE</del>
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CO. 11652: N/A  
 TAGS: PINT, SHUM, AR  
 SUBJECT: Foreign Businessmen Concerned over Human Rights Hearings

ACTION: SecState WASHDC

6647

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~~SECRET~~

AMB  
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- Members of the American and foreign business community, among others here, have expressed their concern to Emboffs over last week's congressional hearings on the human rights situation in Argentina. A number of these persons have lived in Argentina for many years and have seen first hand the rise of terrorist violence and later counter-terrorist warfare in this troubled country. They are chiefly disturbed by what they consider to be the one-sided view-point presented by overtly anti-GOA witnesses and the apparent tendency in the U. S. to ignore the terrorist violence that has wracked Argentina for at least four years.
- Indicative of that concern was a letter sent by foreign businessman <sup>von</sup> Gisbert/E. Boch to Rep. Fraser, which was published in today's BA Herald (October 7). In his letter (copies of which were sent to Embassy, to Senators Church

OFFERED BY: FOL:YThayermg	DRAFTING DATE 10/7/76	TEL. EXT. 121	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: POL:WSSmith
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REFERENCES:

AMB:RChill

DCM:MChaplin

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 CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
 (Form 153-413)  
 January 1973  
 Dept. of State

and Kennedy and to the New York Times) von Boch described the terrorist violence and deteriorating security situation which forced him and his family to leave Argentina in September 1974 and asked why the media and Congress "always seem to defend the human rights of terrorists, yet never those of their innocent victims." Describing the present authorities as "decent, hardworking people" trying to overcome inherited difficulties, von Boch suggested that the committee also consult its Embassy and Americans living in Argentina before making too hasty conclusions on Argentina's human rights record.

  
HILL

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# TELEGRAM

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E.O. 11652:  
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FROM	AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION	<del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>
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GDS  
PGOV, SHUM, AR  
Supreme Court and GOA Agree on Limit of Military Justice  
Jurisdiction  
SecState WASHDC

USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AmEmbassy MONTEVIDEO  
" SANTIAGO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 6648

Buenos Aires 6611

1. Argentine Supreme Court has ruled that jurisdiction of military justice system over subversion and arms control violations applies only when it is clear that offense is actually linked to security of nation.
2. Case arose last May in which individual was detained in Santa Cruz Province on suspicion of violation of ordinary criminal laws. While being interrogated in police station, suspect verbally "chided and offended" police chief. Local civilian judge, backed up by judicial authorities of province, declined to accept charge presented by apparently outraged police, holding that this "attack" on security forces came under law giving competence to

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DRAFTED BY:  
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DRAFTING DATE  
10/7/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
FILED POL:WSSmith 135

CLEARANCES:

*Human Rights file*

AMB:RChill

DCM:MChaplin *me*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION

┌ military courts. Court Martial having jurisdiction over zone ┐  
in turn refused to hear case as it did not involve actual  
subversion and did not affect security of nation in sense of  
laws placing such offenses under 'military courts. Case  
reached Supreme Court with recommendation of GOA Attorney  
General that it be placed under civilian courts of province,  
citing reasoning of Court Martial that it did not affect  
national security or the security forces. Supreme Court  
agreed and instructed local Santa Cruz province civilian judge  
to accept jurisdiction.

3. In somewhat similar ruling, court held that federal civil  
court in Cordoba had competence in case of individual charged  
with illegal possession of firearm classified as "military  
weapon" (which includes for example any pistol or rifle of  
military caliber), as it had not been demonstrated that the  
offense was linked to subversive activities.

4. Comment. We consider these heartening developments, as  
they demonstrate that Argentina still has an independent  
civilian judicial system, and that military themselves  
apparently recognize some degree of rationality in applica-  
tion of military justice to "subversion" cases. Civilian  
courts are forced to be reckoned with here, and have dis-  
played independent judgment in past few months of military  
regime. Guidelines are not completely clear, as is illus-  
┌ trated by differing civilian judges' interpretations of ┐

1.1.4.8

applicability of GOA's suspension of constitutional right to opt to leave country rather than be detained under State of Siege provisions. One federal judge has just ruled that suspension of option is ineffective and has ordered GOA to permit departure of a detainee (reftel), while another federal judge has ruled the opposite and denied a petition to leave under the constitutional option. Rather than simply assert that civil courts have no jurisdiction in State of Siege matters, GOA has submitted its case to Supreme Court.

5. We are well aware that many detainees never reach court jurisdiction, civil or military, being killed or indefinitely detained by security forces. It is encouraging, however, that GOA at least recognized principle of independence and jurisdiction of civil courts and that civil courts in turn show clear evidence of some willingness to declare limits to government's powers in security (and thus human rights) matters.

HILL

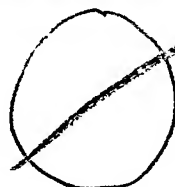
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Classification

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-28-2017 BY C87W44B73 ADG

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TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY 4351/4352/4353

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STATE 251209

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, AR, US

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL LETTERS TO PRESIDENT VIDELA

REF: BUENOS AIRES 6426 (A), BUENOS AIRES 6440 (B)  
 BUENOS AIRES 06575 (C)

1. DEPARTMENT IS AWARE OF THREE LETTERS ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT VIDELA BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. THEY INCLUDE THE TWO NOTED IN REFTELS AND A THIRD SIGNED BY CONGRESSMAN HARRINGTON AND FIFTEEN OTHER HOUSE MEMBERS, INCLUDING FRASER, HARKIN AND KOCH, ASKING VIDELA TO INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF ANDRES CULTELLI OF URUGUAY, REGINA MACONDES OF BRAZIL, MARIO MUÑOZ SALAS OF CHILE AND ARGENTINIAN RAYMUNDO GLEYZER.

2. LETTER MENTIONED IN REFTEL B DATED SEPTEMBER 28 IS FROM CONGRESSWOMAN ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN AND FIFTY-SIX OTHER HOUSE MEMBERS INCLUDING NINE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE. TEXT FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: DEAR PRESIDENT VIDELA:

WE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS WISH TO EXPRESS OUR DEEP CONCERN ABOUT RECENT REPORTS OF ANTI-SEMITIC VIOLENCE IN ARGENTINA.

IN THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, THE PRESS HAS REPORTED A NUMBER OF SHOOTINGS AND BOMBINGS OF JEWISH INSTITUTIONS AND BUSINESSES IN YOUR COUNTRY, AS WELL AS THE KIDNAPPING OF SEVERAL PROMINENT JEWS. THESE ATTACKS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN CONDONED AND EVEN ENCOURAGED BY SOME GROUPS WITHIN THE ARGENTINE MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES. IN ADDITION, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF NAZI LITERATURE WITHIN ARGENTINA HAS INCREASED SHARPLY IN RECENT MONTHS.

TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB		✓	DAO		✓
DCM		✓	LEGATT		✓
			DEA		
POL	3		FAS		
ECOM		✓	AID		
PO:R		✓	MILGP		✓
CONS		✓	PE-1		
DM			GSO		
USIS		✓	B & F		
ST			CHRON		✓
SY			RF		✓

P2 WE DEPLORE THESE INCIDENTS OF VIOLENT ANTI-SEMITISM WHICH ARE REPUGNANT TO AMERICANS AND PEOPLE OF GOODWILL EVERYWHERE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT YOU, TOO, HAVE EXPRESSED YOUR OPPOSITION TO THESE ACTIONS.

WE MOST RESPECTFULLY CALL UPON YOU, THEREFORE, TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO END ANTI-SEMITIC TERRORISM IN YOUR COUNTRY.

SINCERELY, HOLTZMAN, ABZUG, ALLEN, AMBRO, BEARD, BEDELL, BINGHAM, BLANCHARD, BRODHEAD, BURTON, BURTON, CHISHOLM, CORMAN, DERWINSKI, DIGGS, DOWNEY, DRINAN, EDWARDS, EILBERG, EVANS, FASCELL, FRASER, FRENZEL, GUDE, HALL, HARKIN, HARRINGTON, HEINZ, HUGHES, KOCH, KREBS, LEHMAN, LONG, MAZZOLI, MEZVINSKY, MITCHELL, NIX, OTTINGER, PEPPER, RANGEL, RICHMOND, RIEGLE, RONCALIO, ROSENTHAL, ROYBAL, SANTINI, SOLARZ, STARK, TRAXLER, UDALL, VANDER VEEN, WAXMAN, WOLFF, WON PAT, WRIGHT, WYDLER, WHITEHURST. UNQUOTE.

3. HARKIN LETTER REFERRED TO IN REFTTEL A DATED SEPTEMBER 7 STATES:

QUOTE: DEAR SIR:

I AM WRITING IN REGARD TO FIVE THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS WHO ARE BEING HELD INCOMMUNICADO IN YOUR COUNTRY SINCE THEY WERE ABDUCTED FROM THEIR RESIDENCE IN CORDOBA ON AUGUST 3, 1976.

I AM INFORMED BY EYEWITNESSES TO THE ABDUCTION THAT THE STUDENTS DANIEL GARCIA CARRANZA, ALEJANDRO DAUSA, JOSE LOUIS DESTEFANI AND ALFREDO MELANDA (ALL ARGENTINIANS). THE CHILEAN, HUMBERTO PANTAJO TAPIA, AND REV. WEEKS WERE TAKEN FROM THEIR HOUSE AFTER BEING BOUND, GAGGED AND, IN

AT LEAST ONE CASE BEATEN BY A GROUP OF MEN IN PLAIN CLOTHES, ARMED WITH SUBMACHINE GUNS. THESE MEN OFFERED NO IDENTIFICATION OTHER THAN A STATEMENT TO A WITNESS THAT THEY WERE MONTONEROS. THE STUDENTS AND REV. WEEKS WERE TAKEN WITHIN SEVERAL HOURS TO A LOCAL JAIL AND HAVE SINCE BEEN TRANSFERRED AT LEAST ONCE. REV. WEEKS WAS RELEASED ONLY AFTER PROTESTS BY MY GOVERNMENT. THE STUDENTS REMAIN IMPRISONED.

I WISH TO KNOW WHAT THE LEGAL STATUS OF EACH STUDENT IS. HAVE ANY CHARGES BEEN FILED AGAINST ANY ONE OF THEM? WHERE ARE THEY BEING HELD? HOW LONG MAY THEY BE HELD UNDER YOUR LAW BEFORE CHARGES MUST BE FILED OR THEY MUST BE RELEASED? SPECIFICALLY WHAT EVIDENCE DOES YOUR GOVERNMENT HAVE THAT ANY OF THE STUDENTS HAS ENGAGED IN ANY ACT OF SUBVERSION AGAINST YOUR GOVERNMENT? WERE THE MEN WHO ABDUCTED REV. WEEKS AND THE STUDENTS POLICE OR MILITARY

CONFIDENTIAL



P3

OFFICIALS? WERE THEY ACTING IN AN OFFICIAL CAPACITY AT THE TIME? IF SO, IS THIS TYPICAL AS POLICE PROCEDURES IN ARGENTINA? IF NOT, HAVE ANY ACTIONS BEEN TAKEN BY YOU OR OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS TO DISCIPLINE THE OFFICIALS INVOLVED AND TO ENSURE THAT SUCH PRACTICE CEASE? I AM EAGER TO HEAR ANYTHING FROM YOU THAT WOULD JUSTIFY THE METHODS WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT USED IN THIS MATTER. BASED ON THE ACCOUNTS OF THE INCIDENT BY WITNESSES AND SOME KNOWLEDGE OF THE PERSONS INVOLVED, I PRESENTLY CAN FIND NO SUCH JUSTIFICATION FOR THESE ACTIONS.

I AM WELL AWARE THAT TERRORISTS ON BOTH ENDS OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM THREATEN THE STABILITY OF YOUR NATION. I CONDEMN ALL TERRORIST ENDEAVORS REGARDLESS OF IDEOLOGICAL ORIGIN. HOWEVER, IT IS APPARENT THAT RIGHT-WING TERRORISTS ARE TOLERATED IN SOME AREAS BY POLICY AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND, IN SOME CASES, HAVE SECURED THE ACTIVE COOPERATION OF THESE OFFICIALS IN ASSAULTS ON ARGENTINE CITIZENS, POLITICAL REFUGEES FROM OTHER NATIONS AND U.S. CITIZENS WHO ARE GUILTY ONLY OF HOLDING VIEWS AND OPINIONS CONTRARY TO THOSE OF THE OFFICIALS.

THE CASE I HAVE NOTED ABOVE IS ONLY ONE OF A NUMBER WHICH ILLUSTRATE THE IMPUNITY WITH WHICH RIGHT-WING TERRORISTS ACT IN YOUR COUNTRY, IN CONTRAST TO GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS SIMILAR LEFT-WING ACTIVITIES. AS ALLIES OF ARGENTINA AND FRIENDS OF YOUR PEOPLE, WE LOOK FAVORABLY UPON EFFORTS TO RESTORE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY. IN EQUAL MEASURE, WE DEPLORE THE SELECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS RESULTING IN POLITICAL PERSECUTION AND INCREASING POLITI-

CAL POLARIZATION RATHER THAN CIVIL PEACE. SUCH BRUTAL ATTEMPTS TO FORCE POLITICAL CONFORMITY UPON THE POPULATION FALL WITHIN THE SHADOW OF TOTALITARIANISM AND HAVE NO PLACE IN ANY CIVILIZED SOCIETY WHICH PROFESSES BELIEF IN THE ABILITY OF PEOPLE TO RULE THEMSELVES.

I AM HOPEFUL THAT YOUR RESPONSE TO MY QUESTIONS WILL INDICATE A WILLINGNESS TO APPLY THE LAW IN EQUAL MEASURE TO ALL RESIDENTS OF YOUR COUNTRY. MANY MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS WOULD SUPPORT EFFORTS TO CEASE THE ABUSE OF AUTHORITY BY A LIMITED NUMBER OF ARGENTINIAN POLICE AND MILITARY OFFICIALS. SUCH EFFORTS ARE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY IN ORDER TO RECTIFY ACTIONS WHICH ARE DESTRUCTIVE BOTH OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN YOUR COUNTRY AND OF THE LONG HISTORY OF AMICABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES.

I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT I SPEAK IN A SPIRIT OF CONCERN FOR A CONTINUATION OF THAT RELATIONSHIP. YOUR PROMPT AND THOROUGH REPLY WILL BE APPRECIATED.

SINCERELY, TOM HARKIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

P4 4. TEXT OF THIRD LETTER DATED AUGUST 13 FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS WRITE TO YOU TODAY DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH THE STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN YOUR COUNTRY, AND RESPECTFULLY REQUEST YOUR INTERVENTION IN THE FOLLOWING CASES: MR. ANDRES CULTELLI, A URUGUAYAN; MRS. REGINA MACONDES, A BRAZILIAN; MR. MARIO MUNOZ SALAS, A CHILEAN; AND RAYMUNDO GLEYZER, AN INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN AND RESPECTED FILMMAKER. AS YOU INDICATED IN YOUR INAUGURAL ADDRESS, CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS A CONCERN OF HUMANITY NOT DEPENDENT ON INTERNATIONAL DECLARATIONS, BUT ON CONCRETE ACTIONS. THEREFORE, WE FEEL CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL INVESTIGATE THOROUGHLY THE ALLEGATIONS CONTAINED HEREIN.

MR. ANDRES CULTELLI, A URUGUAYAN WHO SOUGHT POLITICAL ASYLUM IN YOUR COUNTRY, WAS FIRST ARRESTED IN MARCH 1975, BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ISABEL PERON. AS OF APRIL OF THIS YEAR, MR. CULTELLI'S FAMILY WAS STILL UNAWARE OF ANY OFFICIAL CHARGES AGAINST HIM. RESPONDING TO INQUIRIES, AMBASSADOR VAZQUEZ RELEASED INFORMATION ON JULY 1ST THAT MR. CULTELLI WAS BEING HELD FOR VIOLATION OF FEDERAL LAW 20.840 (SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES). RELIABLE SOURCES HAVE ALLEGED THAT ARGENTINE AND URUGUAYAN OFFICIALS HAVE TORTURED

HIM EXTENSIVELY SINCE HIS ARREST. IF THE ALLEGATION IS TRUE, THEN MR. HARRINGTON'S PREVIOUS REQUEST THAT MR. CULTELLI NOT BE EXTRADITED TO URUGUAY UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES IS UNDERSTANDABLY JUSTIFIED.

THE SECOND CASE INVOLVES MRS. REGINA MACONDES, A BRAZILIAN NATIONAL, WHO WAS ARRESTED APRIL 10, 1976. THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT WAS URGED AT THAT TIME TO RELEASE INFORMATION AS TO WHERE SHE WAS BEING HELD AND ON WHAT CHARGE. IT WAS ALSO REQUESTED THAT SHE NOT BE EXTRADITED TO BRAZIL DUE TO THAT GOVERNMENT'S MANIFEST DISREGARD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. MRS. MACONDES' FATE IS AS YET STILL UNKNOWN TO US.

THE THIRD CASE, THAT OF MR. MARIO MUNOZ SALAS, A CHILEAN UNIONIST, IS SIMILAR TO THE PREVIOUS ONES. MR. MUNOZ WAS ALSO A NON-ARGENTINE SEEKING POLITICAL ASYLUM IN YOUR COUNTRY. IT HAS BEEN ALLEGED THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL IS BEING HUNTED ON THE ORDERS TO BE SHOT ON SIGHT. WE ONCE AGAIN EXTEND THE REQUEST THAT HE AND HIS FAMILY BE GRANTED SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF ARGENTINA. AS MR. HARRINGTON NOTED IN HIS LETTER DATED JUNE 4, 1976, TO AMBASSADOR VAZQUEZ, EXTRADITION OF THIS MAN TO CHILE WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO SENTENCING HIM TO INDEFINITE INCARCERATION OR DEATH. WE,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

P5 THEREFORE, URGE THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT TO REJECT ANY COURSE THAT WOULD DENY MR. MUNOZ' RIGHT TO LIFE AND LIBERTY BECAUSE OF HIS POLITICAL BELIEFS.

ALSO EXTREMELY DISTURBING TO US IS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN FILM MAKER, RAYMUNDO GLEYZER, WHO WAS IN ARGENTINA TO VISIT HIS FIVE-YEAR OLD SON. WE URGE THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT IN THE STRONGEST TERMS TO INVESTIGATE HIS DISAPPEARANCE. IT HAS BEEN ALLEGED THAT MR. GLEYZER, ALONG WITH HAROLDO CONTI, IS TO BE FOUND AT THE SPECIAL TORTURE CENTER NEAR THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT OF EZEIZA, AND BOTH THEIR CONDITIONS ARE GRAVE. THEREFORE, WE REQUEST THAT BOTH MR. GLEYZER AND MR. CONTI BE GRANTED THE RESPECT WHICH THEIR REPUTATION ENTITLES THEM TO, AND THAT THEY BE RELEASED, FOR THEIR LOSS WOULD INDEED BE TRAGIC.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE APPEAL TO YOUR SENSE OF HUMANITY, AND RESPECTFULLY REMIND YOU OF YOUR INAUGURAL PROMISE TO RE-ESTABLISH A RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA. IN ANY EVENT, WE TRUST THAT YOU WILL WANT TO INITIATE A COMPLETE INVESTIGATION INTO THE ALLEGATIONS CONTAINED HEREIN.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

YOURS RESPECTFULLY, MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON, FRASER, SCHROEDER, HARKIN, HAWKINS, BINGHAM, ABZUB, CONTI, DRINAN, FRENZEL, KOCH, STARK, ROSENTHAL, FLOOD, SOLARZ, RIEGLE.

5. WE HAVE DISCUSSED LETTERS WITH CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES OF SIGNATORIES, EMPHASIZING THE INADVISABILITY OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WRITING DIRECTLY TO OFFICIALS (INDEED, IN THIS CASE, A HEAD OF STATE) OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS. THEY APPEAR SENSITIVE TO OUR CONCERNS AND APPEARED WILLING TO INFORM THE DEPARTMENT BEFORE ANY LETTERS ARE SENT IN THE FUTURE.

6. FYI: AS YOU CAN SEE THE LETTERS DIFFER ONE FROM THE OTHER. THEY ALL REFLECT THE INCREASED CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA WHICH HAS BEEN STIMULATED BY THE WIDESPREAD MEDIA COVERAGE OF DEVELOPMENTS THERE, AS DOES THE VERY STRONG CRITICISM OF GOA ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH SURFACED AT THE RECENT FRASER SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS. WE DISAPPROVE OF THE PRACTICE OF MEMBERS WRITING DIRECTLY TO OFFICIALS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND DO NOT WANT TO ENCOURAGE FURTHER EXCHANGES AND DO NOT FEEL IT ADVISABLE THAT WE ACT AS A TRANSMISSION BELT. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT WANT TO DISCOURAGE GOA RESPONDING TO LETTERS. END FYI.

P6 7. YOU SHOULD TELL GOA THAT THE PROCEDURES USED AND THE SUBSTANCE OF A RESPONSE BY GOA TO THE LETTERS IS A DECISION TO BE TAKEN BY GOA.

8. LETTER OF REFTEL B& C SHOULD BE DELIVERED TO FOREIGN MINISTRY WITH EXPLANATION THAT WE HAVE BEEN REQUESTED BY SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO TRANSMIT THE LETTER. ROBINSON

BT  
1209

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNNN

# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6742  
14 Oct 76  
1125

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

GDS  
CVIS, SHUM, PFOR, AR, US  
Fraser Subcommittee Witnesses

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC ~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 6742

REF:

(A) State 250024; (B) Buenos Aires 6490; (C) Buenos Aires 5298;  
(D) Buenos Aires 6373; (E) Buenos Aires 6396; (F) Buenos Aires 6611

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
~~DE~~  
CHRON

1. We believe that Department's consultations with Fraser subcommittee can be helpful in producing objective view of Argentine human rights situation. However, to hold a second round of hearings expressly for witnesses "who support GOA's position" (reftel A), as we see it, misses the point altogether. Witnesses should be as objective, conscientious and well-informed as possible. A session with blatantly anti-GOA ideologues cannot be "balanced out" by another with pro-GOA apologists. There are many persons deeply concerned with human rights in Argentina who are not openly hostile to GOA. Nor, as conservative BA Herald <sup>columnist</sup> ~~Communist~~ James Neilson points out in Sunday's edition (October 10), do all critics of the government's action belong to left wing.

DRAFTED BY:  
POL:YThayer:mg

DRAFTING DATE  
10/13/76

TEL. EXT.  
121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
POL:WSSmith *WSS*

CLEARANCES:

POL/R:JSears (in draft) *WSS*

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED

OCT 14 1976

AMB:RChill  
DCM:MChaplin *me*

~~SECRET~~  
CLASSIFICATION

2. There are responsible and reputable Argentines willing to testify on the Argentine human rights situation. Jacobo Timerman, for one, ~~a formerly prominent Argentine businessman~~, a Jew, and a courageous and critical newspaper publisher, has offered personally to testify (reftel B). Another possibility is Emilio Mignone, a prominent educator and former OAS official in Washington from 1962-67. Mignone's daughter was abducted in May. He is closely connected to the Catholic hierarchy in Argentina and is a member of the Permanent Assembly on Human Rights and yet cannot be considered either a leftist or right-wing apologist. Well-known columnist Mariano Grondona could also be considered. Grondona was kidnapped by the Triple A in August (reftel C).

3. As for Garzon Maceda and Gustavo Roca, the Argentine government, press, opposition parties and general public have been thorough in denouncing their background and activities. In addition to SRF information, (reftels <sup>D and E</sup>) Embassy also has information concerning them from local press reports and various Embassy sources. In our judgment, which is based on info from the above, it is clear that both have had a long and close connection to subversive groups and activities. Instead of cabling full text of bio information given to the Ambassador, we will summarize salient points of our own evaluation:

4. The material on Gustavo Roca shows conclusively that he was a member of the Communist Party and was closely linked to

terrorist groups. Gustavo Roca's record goes back to 1944 when he was first investigated for Communist connections. He was a member of the Popular Movement for Peace, a Communist organ, in the late 1940's and was listed as a main leader of the Argentine Communist Party of Cordoba in 1955. In 1957 he was arrested for subversive activities. In 1970, Roca reportedly was a member of the Revolutionary Worker's Party (PRT), the Trotskyite "political arm" of the ERP. By 1972 he was reported to be a leader of the August 22 splinter faction of the ERP, and director of its publication "Liberation." He apparently handled ERP funds, including the "laundering" of some \$1.4 million in ransom for Esso Director Victor Samuelson in 1974. Roca traveled frequently to Cuba, most recently in 1972 when he reportedly coordinated the escape to Cuba of ERP leaders after the Trelew break from Rawson Prison that year.

5. The information on Garzon Maceda identifies him with the Communist Party (PCA) and with left-wing subversive groups. Garzon Maceda was reportedly expelled from the Socialist Party in 1959 for his Trotskyite views. He was arrested and jailed for crimes against "national security" in 1970. A lawyer, he shared a law office with Gustavo Roca for many years in Cordoba, where he also was prominent for defending left-wing extremists. Like Roca, Garzon Maceda has been reported to be a member of the PRT (the political arm of the ERP).

6. The military government issued arrest warrants for both

Gustavo Roca and Garzon Maceda when it took over in March.

Apparently both men were in hiding in Argentina until early September when they left clandestinely for Europe. Argentine authorities claim they were in contact with the Revolutionary Coordinating Junta (JCR) while in Europe.

7. Both men have been well known for their extreme left-wing sympathies and activities long before the hearings and non-governmental opinion in general regards them as committed, militant Marxist extremists with close ties to the ERP. The press here has particularly criticized the subcommittee's selection of witnesses as irresponsible and biased as these (reftel F). Robert Cox of the BA Herald, a courageous exponent of human rights in Argentina, for example, on October 9 described Roca as the editor of a "scurrillous magazine which jubilantly reported assassinations" and Garzon Maceda as "another apostle of violence." With witnesses like these, Cox adds, "it's not difficult to see why 'human rights' crusaders have gotten themselves such a bad name."

8. Garzon Maceda's brother Felix, a teacher in Cordoba, issued a statement October 6 repudiating his brother's testimony and disassociating himself from his brother's ideology and politics.

9. On balance, Argentine governmental and moderate public opinion has been deeply concerned and distressed over what appeared to be blatantly biased and non-objective testimony



~~SECRET~~

Classification

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of

6742

MRN

[ presented by Argentine witnesses called by committee. This ]  
has made more difficult our task of convincing GOA that human  
rights concern in U. S. is not simply Marxist plot to discredit  
government. Recommend that Department encourage Fraser sub-  
committee to call a few Argentines who, while deeply committed  
to defense of human rights, are not so identified with radical  
left as to lack all credibility as witnesses.

HILL

~~SECRET~~

Classification

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

GDS

PINT, PINS, SHUM, AR, CI

Human Rights Roundup No. 4

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 6774

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. The Irish Embassy has asked GOA to investigate the kidnapping of Irish priest Patrick Rice. Father Rice was

abducted on October 11 by a group of armed men in unmarked cars from a prayer meeting in a shanty town just outside Buenos Aires. He has been in Argentina for six years.

Catholic Church officials are looking into Rice's disappearance as well as that of two Jesuit priests who disappeared after being seized by unidentified men last May, according to the BA Herald (October 13).

2. A Venezuelan-edited publication called "Opulence and Misery" was banned and the two Catholic agencies responsible for its distribution in Argentina closed down by a GOA decree issued October 11. The decree cited the material for inciting social disintegration. The two agencies--Claretiana Distributors and Paulinas Editions--are connected to religious

DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThayer:mg

DRAFTING DATE

10/14/76

TEL. EXT.

121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith WBS

CLEARANCES:

LEGATT:RWScherrer

SEARCHED ~~AMB ARCH~~  
SERIALIZED ~~DCM: McChaplin~~

OCT 18 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE-BOEING AIRCRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-410)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

orders based in Italy, according to press reports. Paulinas

Editions was also responsible for distributing the Latin

American Bible in Argentina. The Bible was <sup>r</sup>banded as "leftist

and subversive" by two Argentine bishops who prohibited its  
GOA and Argentine Church authorities are  
circulation in their dioceses. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

currently studying the Bible, which sets Biblical scenes in  
modern-day Cuban and Latin American settings, for ideological  
content.

3. Fourteen Paraguayan and Chilean refugees flew to Switzer-  
land October 7.

4. More than two-thirds of the UNHCR's 4.3 million-dollar  
budget for Latin American in 1977 will go to Argentina, UNHCR  
sources report. The allocation for Argentina is 2.9 million  
dollars, which covers refugee assistance and maintenance, as  
well as travel and resettlement costs. Argentina has 38,000  
refugees, including 28,000 Europeans, 8,000 Chileans and 2,000

Bolivians and Uruguayans, according to official UNHCR documents. (The 28,000  
Europeans are post World War refugees who are still receiving some UN assistance. They are

5. Orders detaining 48 persons at the disposal of the  
Executive were lifted October 8, according to press reports.

La Nacion published the names of another four persons detained  
under state of siege since April who were freed on October 12.

Embassy sources confirm that state of siege prisoners are

being released in a steady stream as security officials

complete their investigations. Others are turned over to

military tribunals for trial and sentencing. Three left-wing

not involved in  
current refugee  
problems, which  
concern politi-  
cal refugees  
from neighbor-  
ing South  
American  
countries.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

extremists were sentenced on October 8 to up to 18 years' imprisonment for possession of firearms, explosives and other offenses. Those who are sentenced to prison terms are being removed from Buenos Aires and sent to provincial prisons, sources say.

6. Seven Federal police were dismissed for offenses including robbery, unlawful use of firearms, injuries to others and the shooting of four persons in a local train, according to a government decree published October 11. Although such cases are rarely reported in the press, Embassy sources report that a significant number of police have been quietly punished or fired (or in some cases even eliminated) in recent weeks. According to these sources, Federal Police Chief Ojeda and other military officer supervisors are slowly but steadily weeding out undesirable and undisciplined elements from the federal and provincial police forces, including some who have been responsible for Triple-A type activities, kidnappings, robbery and physical brutality. Many of those guilty of violence and petty crime were elements brought into the police force toward the end of the Peron administration, sources report, who used the anti-terrorist effort for personal gain and to settle private scores. (Embassy sources say that a high-ranking police officer implicated in the Pilar massacre has been put "on leave," which means at least temporarily suspended.)

7. Moderate Argentines have been particularly stung during

recent USG scrutiny of GOA security practices by the implied and overt comparison of their country with Chile. While not necessarily sympathetic toward the Chilean people, many Argentines reject both Pinochet's image as a strongman military dictator and the repressive tactics of his government. Moderates are quick to point out fundamental historical, political and social differences between the two countries. They also make a definite distinction between the circumstances that led to the Chilean coup in 1973 and those that forced a military takeover in Argentina in 1976. Moreover, they claim there are vast differences in attitudes and actions on the part of the two military governments.

8. In a report October 6, La Opinion traced what it called basic differences between the Argentine and Chilean positions contrasting quotes from GOC's "Declaration of Principles" with public statements made by ranking Argentine officials on a number of topics. Some of its major points were:

On democracy-- Argentina: The final objective of the current reorganization process is the reimplantation of an authentically representative, republic and federalist democracy in Argentina.

Chile: As long as the principles of democratic-liberal regimes exist, the conditions for Marxism exist: chaos, division, anarchy, party conflict, etc.

On political parties--Argentina: The Armed Forces have

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

repeatedly anticipated the eventual development of authentic movements of national opinion.

Chile: Since the French Revolution, political parties have been the instrument of corruption and destruction. Carried to its extreme, but logical, end, the system leads to civil war.

On human rights--Argentina: Respect for human rights is the result of our profound Christian belief in the dignity of man. (Note: This may not be lived up to, but at least it is a stated principle in Argentina whereas in Chile it is not.)

Chile: Rights are relative with respect to social necessities. Rights, such as that of life, are not absolute.

On foreign relations--Argentina: Argentina seeks solid contacts with all countries and greater participation in international fora, while rejecting any kind of hegemony or intervention in internal affairs of another state.

Chile: The campaign to isolate Chile is partly to hide the human rights violations of the USSR. If the U. S. chooses to ally itself with the Soviet Union, Chile has the same right to confront its adversaries.

9. Some of the differences may be more a matter of wishful thinking on the part of Argentine moderates who fervently hope that moderate forces in GOA will prevail over what well could be a Pinochet-style hardline position. Although they have

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

been united in condemning the Fraser subcommittee's invitation of leftist Argentine fugitives to testify on GOA's security practices, moderates are nevertheless concerned that GOA avoid Chilean-style defensiveness and confrontation with the U. S. Argentina, writes La Opinion columnist Mario Diamant, does not have to choose between isolationism and submission (to outside pressures). GOA can take a lead from Israel, suggests Diamant. "Despite pressure from its allies, the Israeli government conducts its war against terrorism as it sees necessary. But, at the same time and with the same efficiency, it maintains an ongoing campaign in international fora, clarifying its motives, responding to criticism and appealing to world sympathy."

  
HMLL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

3 Nov 76

1730

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

# TELEGRAM

FROM

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

XGDS-2

SHUM, PFOR, PINS, AR

Irish Priest Patrick Rice detained under state of seige

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO:

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

REF:

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 7222  
State 268058

1. BEGIN ~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~. Father Patrick Rice is presently being held in a La Plata jail under provisions of state of seige. Irish Embassy has visited him several times and reports that he appears to be in good health. The Superior-General of Rice's religious order has come to Argentina from Europe, but has not yet been allowed to visit the prisoner. (Only immediate family members and, generally in case of foreigners, consular representatives, are allowed to visit persons detained under state of seige.) Irish Embassy, Papal Nuncio and Argentine Catholic Church are all working actively "behind the scenes" to secure Rice's expulsion from the country, Irish Embassy officials told Emboff. Official also said that arrest appears to have been a "mistake," but that GOA officials are "stalling" on bringing charges or issuing release order. If the case is not resolved earlier, Irish Embassy said a petition to leave the country will be filed for Rice in accordance with a new law on right to leave the country. (The new law,

AMB  
DCM  
POL 3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP 2  
SCLAT  
LEGAT  
RF  
CHRON

DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThayer:jr

DRAFTING DATE

11/3/76

TEL. EXT.

121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

APOLCOUNS:TFreeman

CLEARANCES:

ADCM:WSmith W  
AMB:RCW 11

107-872 65A  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED

NOV 4 - 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 100  
(Formerly FS-61)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State



dated Oct. 27, 1970, permits persons who are held under state of

~~seige~~

seige to petition to leave the country 90 days after their arrest order.

The Interior Ministry then has 90 days to rule on the petition. Approval will be granted only in cases of detainees who are not considered threats to national security.) ~~END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE.~~

2. ~~BEGIN SECRET~~ X-GDS. Irish Embassy official (protect) confidentially related his Embassy's understanding of the Rice episode to Emboff today (Nov. 3). Rice was forceably taken from a village church service by unidentified and heavily armed men late Monday night (Oct. 11). He was first brought to a nearby police station, then bundled into the trunk of a car and taken to an unidentified location. There he was roughly interrogated for two days, beaten and burnt with cigaret butts. On Oct. 14 he was delivered to a federal police detention center and GOA officially informed the Irish Embassy that Rice was being detained under state of seige. He was then transferred to Villa Devoto and later La Plata prison. Since his first interrogation session, he has been satisfactorily treated. However, Irish officials saw the burn marks near his eyes and on his hands on their first visit.
3. The Irish Embassy official also told Emboff that Irish Government called in the Argentine Ambassador in Dublin to protest Rice's ill treatment. According to official, the Argentine Ambassador declared that such incidents were totally out of the hands of the Foreign Ministry, that the Interior Ministry and Armed Forces conducted their business as they saw fit and that the Forn Ministry could only do what was dictated to it by the Armed Forces. The Ambassador then confidentially advised GOI to

~~SECRET~~

Classification

use that other channels it had at its disposal to help secure the

release of Father Rice.

Comment: While the Argentine Ambassador's claims of Foreign Ministry impotency in security cases, even those involving foreigners, comes as no surprise, his frankness with ~~SEC~~ <sup>CODE</sup> officials and his ~~confidential~~ recommendation that they apply pressure through other channels are remarkable. It does, however, point up the relative status of the Ministries under the current military regime, as well as the frustration of Argentina's official overseas representatives in handling sensitive bilateral issues involving human rights.

HILL

H (by phone)

~~SECRET~~

Classification

# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6513

15 OCT 76

1741

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

N/A

SHUM, AR

State of Siege

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

IMMEDIATE

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6818

REF:

State 254558

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Amnesty International Report is incorrect. To best of our knowledge (and we have checked with Osvaldo Perez Pardo, as then well as several figures who were/there in Congress), Supreme Court made no such declaration. It would have been very strange if it had done so since so far as we know there is no constitutional requirement that duration of state of siege be specified (See Articles 23, 26 and 86 (14) of Constitution). In past, as now, state of siege is imposed for "duration of the emergency" which called it into being.

2. Ex-Senator de la Rua (UCR) and other ex-congressmen confirm that question of state of siege was not treated by Congress. They point out, however, that interpretation of Article 26 of Constitution has always been that if Congress did not take up question of state of siege decreed while Congress in recess, this amounted to tacit approval. HILL

DRAFTED BY:

FOL:WSSmith:mg

DRAFTING DATE

10/15/76

TEL. EXT.

128

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

AMBASSADOR ROBERT C. HILL

CLEARANCES:

DCM: MChaplin

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 100  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

ESB043BRA491

RR RUESBA  
 DE RUEHC #6850 2900845  
 ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 R 160130Z OCT 76  
 FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
 TO RUESDOUOAMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO 4192  
 INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 4422  
 BT

76 OCT 18

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 256850

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, UY

SUBJECT: RETURN TO URUGUAY OF SUSPECTED URUGUAYAN TERROR-  
 IST

1. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, W.O.L.A., THE US CATHOLIC  
 CONFERENCE AND OTHER GROUPS HAVE RECENTLY RECEIVED INFOR-  
 MATION THAT THE THIRTY URUGUAYANS WHO DISAPPEARED IN  
 ARGENTINA IN MID-1976 ARE NOW BEING HELD IN MONTEVIDEO.  
 THESE GROUPS ALSO BELIEVE THESE PERSONS HAVE BEEN  
 TORTURED. MEDIA STORIES CAN BE EXPECTED AT SOME POINT.  
 HOWEVER, SOME OF THESE GROUPS HAVE BEGUN TO DOUBT THE  
 AUTHENTICITY OF THE INFORMATION AND COULD BE EXPECTED  
 NOT TO SEEK PUBLICITY. DEPARTMENT WILL KEEP EMBASSIES  
 INFORMED OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS. HABIB

BT  
 #6850

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO	ACI	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMEMB		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DAO		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DCM		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	L GATT		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			DEA		
POL	3		FAS		
ECOM		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	AID		
POI/R		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MILGP		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CNS		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PEI		
ADM			GSO		
USIS		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	B & F		
SCI			CHRON		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SY			RF		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

152-112-67

SEARCHED INDEXED  
 SERIALIZED FILED

OCT 1 1976

Human Rights file

BA-9  
 4-12-76

CONTROL: 6884

# TELEGRAM

19 Oct 76  
1735

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

GDS

PFOR, SHUM, AR, UY

Rumors of Uruguayan exiles Return to Uruguay

ACTION:

INFO

Secstate WASHDC

Amembassy MONTEVIDEO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 6884

~~SECRET~~

REF

State 256850

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
DAO  
MILGP  
SCIAT  
LEGAT  
~~RE~~  
CHRON

Rumors that the group of Uruguayans kidnapped in Argentina this July have been returned to Uruguay have also been circulating within the intelligence community here, according to Embassy sources. The story is that of the group of Uruguayans including Michelini's daughter, who were kidnapped around July 13, some were shortly after turned over to Uruguayan authorities and returned to Uruguay for questioning. [Presumably according to the rumors, the Uruguayan government had not taken care to dispose of its prisoners or cover the alleged transfers, and the story had leaked inside Uruguay.] The Embassy has no information to either confirm or deny these rumors.

HILL

109-812- 68

INDEXED  
FILED

OCT 20 1976

DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThayer:cc

DRAFTING DATE

10/19/76

TELETYPE

121

CONTENT AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

LEGATT:RScherrer (in substance)

DCM:MChaplin

AMB:RCH11

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FD-313)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 6975  
22 Oct 76  
1629

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

N/A  
PINT, PINS, SHUM, AR  
UCR DEPUTY AMAYA DIES WHILE UNDER DETENTION

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC

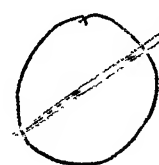
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 6975

AMB  
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POL-3  
POL/R  
ECON  
USIS  
DAO  
HILGP  
SCIAT  
LEGAT  
CHRON  
RF

REF: B.A. 5756

1. Former Radical Party (UCR) Deputy Mario Abel Amaya died of reported heart failure in the Villa Devoto prison hospital in Buenos Aires October 19. The army communique announcing his death said that he had been under treatment for chronic asthma and heart trouble. Amaya, who was being held ~~UNDER~~ at disposition of the Executive along with UCR Senator Solari Irigoyen in Bahia Blanca, was transferred to Villa Devoto last month after suffering a heart attack. The two lawyers were kidnapped from their homes Aug. 17, and reappeared August 30, only to be promptly arrested and detained under state of seige. Amaya was 40 years old.

2. Newspapers last weekend (Oct. 16-17) printed a list of accusations leaked from "responsible sources"



109-812-69

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:Yvonne Thayer/pm

Oct 21, 76

128

POL:WSmith

CLEARANCES:

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
OCT 26 1976

*Human Rights file*

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~  
CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

(i.e. Army) linking both Amaya and Solari Irigoyen with extremist groups. (Both were prominent defense lawyers well known for representing left-wing detainees.) The accusations listed a number of "dangerous subversives" allegedly connected with the ERP and Montoneros, ~~some~~ <sup>some successfully,</sup> of whom had been subsequently defended by Solari Irigoyen and Amaya. The lawyers were also cited for having expressed support for Chilean President Allende, petitioned for the release of prisoners allegedly linked to the ERP and Peronist Youth, and driven released prisoners in their cars. Amaya was said to have taught Marxist doctrines and been involved in the Trelew prison escape in 1974.

3. The accusations, which impute subversive connections to the two lawyers for activities including defending alleged leftists found innocent by the Argentine courts, elicited a sharp protest from the BA Herald Oct. 17.

In an editorial titled "Witch hunting won't help us win the war" the Herald denounced the smear campaign being carried out by anonymous "responsible sources" against the two lawyers, whose major crime appears to have been defending persons charged with subversion.

"Argentina has not, and surely never will, reach the point of hatred and bigotry at which a lawyer is held responsible for the crimes of the man he is defending

before the courts", the editorial said, and called for

public defense of the two men and a swift investigation.

4. COMMENT: The anonymously leaked accusations can be taken as an indication that the authorities have found it impossible to come up with any real evidence against the two lawyers. ~~With Ayaya's death coming only days later~~ government critics are likely to speculate that the government was in some way responsible, though Embassy has no information to support this speculation.

HILL





# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 7022  
1752 2600T  
1752

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4  
TAGS: CVIS, SHUM, US, AR  
SUBJECT: Status of Four Argentine Seminarians Who Had Been Detained with  
AmCit Father James Weeks  
ACTION: SecState WASHDC PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7022

REF: Buenos Aires 6912

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MLGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Emboffs met with four young Argentine seminarians and Father John Paul Bradford, the American priest who is escorting them to the U. S. this evening October 26. They are proceeding to Hartford, Connecticut.

2. The four said that during their detention in Cordoba they were not rpt not tortured or otherwise maltreated. During interrogation they were threatened, however, and experience was not pleasant. One of four, who was released a few days ahead of the others, said that police apologized to him for detention, saying that all problems had been cleared up by investigation. They had no difficulty obtaining passports. Seminarians believed that their release may have been delayed because authorities were checking their possible links with fifth seminarian, a Chilean still detained, who has apparent criminal charges pending

DRAFTED BY.

FOL:RSSSteven:mg

CLEARANCES:

CONS:GWhitman

DRAFTING DATE

10/26/76

TEL. EXT.

121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED AMB:RDM

DCM:MChaplin  
OCT 27 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

Classification

against him. They understood that the Chilean Government may request extradition of the Chilean on criminal charges (Catholic Church is not attempting to defend or assist the Chilean seminarian).

3. Father Bradford and the young seminarians are aware that press may try to interview them upon arrival in U. S. They wish to avoid this, and plan to say nothing if contacted by press.

~~HILL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

CONTROL: 7029  
26 OCT 76  
1811

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM	AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION	<del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>
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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUM, UK, AR  
SUBJECT: Human Rights: Amnesty International Group to Visit Argentina  
ACTION: SecState WASHDC  
INFO: AmEmbassy LONDON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7029

AMB  
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POL-3  
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ECOM  
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USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCTAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. British Embassy told us privately October 26 that it has instructions from Foreign Office to provide "appropriate assistance" to Amnesty International group due to visit Argentina to examine human rights situation and to ask cooperation of GOA in preventing abuses. Group of three will include Lord Avebury, a British Liberal Party leader, U. S. Congressman (Father) Robert Drinan, and Miss Patricia Feeney of the staff of AI in London. Miss Feeney is scheduled to arrive in Buenos Aires November 1 to prepare for arrival Lord Avebury and Congressman Drinan, who are due ~~to arrive~~ <sup>will</sup> November 5 and remain until November 15.

2. Foreign Office was informed of visit by letter from AI and subsequent direct communication. Emboff examined copy of letter; which notified Fon Off of intended visit and

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POL:RSSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE  
10/26/76

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CONTROLLED AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
SERIALIZED: WSS/TH  
INDEXED: 183

CLEARANCES:

*Human Rights file*

AMB: RCHILL  
DCM: MChaplin  
LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES  
183

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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(Ecmedv. ES-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

stated that AI had already communicated intention to visit and request for appointments to Argentine FonMin Guzzetti, Min Interior Hargu<sup>N</sup>deguy, and Army Chief of Staff General Viola. Letter indicated that AI recognized importance of establishing its impartiality before GOA, and delegation planned to bring copy of its studies of Soviet abuses to show to Argentines. Instruction British have received states the AI plans to make all of its own contacts in Argentina, but would call on British Embassy if it encountered difficulties in obtaining appointments, etc. British Embassy was given discretion to define "appropriate assistance."

3. British are inclined to informally convey to GOA, at level probably of head of new human rights section of MFA, their view that AI might best be taken seriously as important element in forming of international opinion concerning Argentine human rights situation. We agreed that it would appear to be in best interests of all if respected organization such as AI could obtain full and objective view of situation on the ground. British would appreciate any information we may be able to obtain concerning participation of U. S. Congressman in this AI delegation.

4. Request Department send any information obtainable on reported intended visit of AI and specifically of Congressman Drinan to Argentina. We will coordinate to degree appropriate with British Embassy.

HILL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

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PP RUESBA  
DE RUEHC #6594 3030230  
ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
P R 290024Z OCT 76  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY 4528  
INFO RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 87951  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 266594

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:AR, UK, PFOR

SUBJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ARGENTINE VISIT

REF: BUENOS AIRES 7029

1. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IN WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK HAVE LITTLE INFORMATION REGARDING VISIT TO ARGENTINA OTHER THAN THAT CONTAINED IN REFTEL. THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN ADDITIONAL DETAILS FROM AMNESTY LONDON, WHICH PLANNED THE TRIP. CONGRESSMAN DRINAN DOES INTEND TO GO AND DEPARTMENT WILL DISCUSS ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION WITH HIM NEXT WEEK, WHEN HE RETURNS HERE FROM MASSACHUSETTS. AMNESTY APPARENTLY EXPECTED THIS TRIP WOULD TAKE PLACE IN AUGUST, BUT DRINAN ASKED FOR POSTPONEMENT BECAUSE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN. OTHER CONGRESSMEN WHO HAD THOUGHT OF GOING, BUT WHO HAVE SINCE DROPPED OUT, INCLUDED MCCLOSKEY AND EDWARDS OF CALIFORNIA AND DON FRASER.

2. AMNESTY STATES ONE OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO INVESTIGATE STATUS OF REFUGEES IN ARGENTINA. HOWEVER, IT IS STILL UNCLEAR WHETHER ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT HAS APPROVED THIS VISIT. KISSINGER

BT

#6594

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO	ACI	INF	TO	ACI	INF
FMB	1	✓	DAO		✓
DCM		✓	ECGT		✓
			BFA		
POL	3		FAS		
ECOM		✓	AID		
POI/R		✓	MILGP		✓
CO S			PEI		
ADM			GSO		
USIS		✓	B & F		
SCI		✓	C/IRON		✓
SY			RF		✓
LAB		✓			

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OCT 29 1976	
LEGAL ATTACHE-BUENOS AIRES	
BA-9	
4-12-76	

*Human Rights*

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO RUESDO/AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO IMMEDIATE 4285  
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY 4538  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 267364

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, PFOR, AR, UY

SUBJECT: ARRESTED URUGUAYANS  
REF: STATE 256850; B.A. 6884; MVD 4097

TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DAO		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DCM		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	L GATT		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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ECOM		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	AID		
POI/R		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MILGP		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CONS		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PE-1		
ADM			GSO		
USIS		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	B & F		
SCI		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHRON		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SY			RF		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

1. JUAN FERREIRA, SON OF WILSON FERREIRA, HAS INFORMED DEPARTMENT HE LEARNED LATE YESTERDAY THAT URUGUAYAN AUTHORITIES HAVE ANNOUNCED THEY HAVE ARRESTED 14 URUGUAYANS. FERREIRA CLAIMS THESE ARE 14 OF THE 30 URUGUAYANS WHOSE FORCIBLE RETURN TO MONTEVIDEO HAD BEEN RUMORED EARLIER. FERREIRA SAID THE GOU APPARENTLY PRODUCED ONE OF THE PRISONERS, ANA MARIA QUADROS, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY. GERARDO GATTI WAS ALSO SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED. FERREIRA STATES GOU SPOKESMAN EXPLAINED THE 14 URUGUAYANS PURPOSELY RETURNED HOME TO EOARRASS THE GOVERNMENT. FERREIRA BELIEVES ORGANIZATIONS DEVOTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS WILL ISSUE PRESS STATEMENT AND LODGE COMPLAINT WITH OAS IAHRC ACCUSING BOTH ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY WITH VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WITH RESPECT TO THESE 14 URUGUAYANS.

2. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE ANY SUBSEQUENT INFORMATION EMBASSIES MAY HAVE CONCERNING THIS ISSUE NOT CONTAINED REFTELS

KISSINGER  
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7364

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

109-812-73

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LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES	

*Human Rights file*

BA-9  
4-12-76

CONTROL: 7740  
1 Nov 76  
1430

# TELEGRAM

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☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM	AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION	<del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>
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E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

GDS  
SHUM, UK, AR  
Amnesty International Visit to Argentina

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO:

AmEmbassy LONDON PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7140

REF:

(A) Buenos Aires 7029; (B) State 266594

AMB  
A/DCM  
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CHRON

1. British Charge informs us that GOA has decided to permit Amnesty International group to visit Argentina as "tourists," without according them any official or semi-official status. They will not rpt not be received by any high-ranking GOA official unless they are presented under the "sponsorship" of a responsible international organization such as the UNHCR.

2. Comment. We do not know if UNHCR or other such agency could or would "sponsor" the AI group, and do not wish to raise the subject with UNHCR. We and British expect that when AI group finds that it cannot get appointments on its own it will turn to British Embassy and quite possibly to us, as well as to UNHCR, with requests for assistance in getting appointments. In this event, we will plan to offer Congress-

DRAFTED BY:

POL:RSSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE

11/1/76

TEL. EXT.

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

A/POLCOUNS:AGFreeman

CLEARANCES:

AMB:RCHILL  
A/DCM:WBSmith  
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NOV 1 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION

LEGAL ATTACHE—BUENOS AIRES  
OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

man Drinan courtesies appropriate and normal for any visiting figure of his rank, including assistance in requesting appointments, unless otherwise instructed by Department.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
HILL



# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 7203  
02 NOV 76  
1755

INDICATE  
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FROM	AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES	CLASSIFICATION	<del>SECRET</del>
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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, AR, UY  
SUBJECT: GOA Silent on Uruguay Revelation of Terrorist Plot

ACTION: SecState WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO: AmEmbassy MONTEVIDEO

~~SECRET~~ BUENOS AIRES 7203

REF: (A) State 267364; (B) Montevideo 4161; (C) Buenos Aires 6884

AMB  
A/DCM  
FOL-3  
FOL/R  
ECOM.  
USIS  
USDAO  
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LEGAT  
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CHRON

1. The Uruguayan government's revelation of a terrorist organization whose members allegedly infiltrated back into the country after feigning kidnappings in Argentina has received no official comment and little press coverage in Argentina. La Opinion Saturday (October 30) and La Nacion Sunday (October 31) summarily reported the GOU communiques without comment, including the accusation that several of those arrested had simulated their kidnapping in Argentina to discredit the two governments. The press did not run the names of the 14 accused.

2. Embassy sources dispute GOU's version of the disappearances. A UNHCR official told Emboff today (November 2) that 12 of the 14 names were on its list of Uruguayan refugees kidnapped in

DRAFTED BY:  
FOL:YThayer:mg

CLEARANCES:

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11/2/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

GENERALIZED

INDEXED

AMB:RChill

A/DCM:WSSmith

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LEGAL ATTACHE - BUENOS AIRES

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CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formally FD-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

July and September and that writs of habeas corpus had been filed in Argentina by the families of nine of them. He also said that at least 24 Uruguayans disappeared in July and another 28 in September, which indicates that not all of them have been accounted for (reftel B). The official claimed that there were Argentine eye witnesses to the kidnappings, but said that no legal testimony had been sworn in at the time and it might be difficult to find Argentines willing to testify against the GOU version now.

3. Comment. Our evaluation of the evidence and reports we have convinces us that the kidnappings of Uruguayan refugees in July and September were carried out by Argentine and Uruguayan security forces, acting clandestinely and in cooperation. And while it is apparent that Uruguayan authorities have prepared evidence to support their version, it is not likely that it will be fully believed, either in Argentina or abroad. Along with last month's rumors that the disappeared refugees were alive and in Uruguay (reftel C), there was some indication that Argentine security forces were concerned that their cooperation with Uruguayan agents in forcing the repatriation of refugees would be revealed and so destroy <sup>GSA</sup> their claims that no refugee would be returned to his country against his will. Nevertheless, since the GOU announcements were probably coordinated with GOA beforehand, it may have been decided that the public relations benefit of exposing a terrorist plot and

advertising GOU's fair and decent treatment of prisoners would ~~win~~ outweigh any adverse speculation. The pointed silence from GOA and the press caution in reporting on subject so far suggest that GOA considers it Uruguay's baby and prefers to diminish its role as much as possible.

HILL *at my place*~~SECRET~~~~Classification~~

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# TELEGRAM

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E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

ACTION:

NOTE:

FROM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES CLASSIFICATION ~~UNCLASSIFIED OFFICIAL USE~~

CA  
CHUM, AR  
Human Rights Inquiries on Chilean National Carlos Damian Hilloz and  
Argentine National Federico Alvarez Rojas

TELETYPE WASHDC

(A) State 265231; (B) State 264534

~~UNCLASSIFIED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 7-15

1. Embassy has no information on whereabouts of Chilean National Carlos  
Damian Hilloz (RefTel A), but has informed Foru Ministry working group on  
human rights of US congressional concern.

2. Embassy has no information on case of Federico Alvarez Rojas (RefTel B),  
Embassy raised Alvarez case with  
an Argentine National. / Foru Ministry human rights working group informed  
However, latter responded  
Embassy Nov. 1/that it does not entertain queries on behalf of Argentine  
citizens, which is considered internal Argentine matter. The working  
group, Embassy were told, coordinates queries on behalf of non-Argentines  
coming from foreign governments and official organizations which have some  
legitimate interest such as family connections, etc. In practice, Foru  
Ministry will probably respond in cases of Argentine nationals where it has  
easily available information or sees political advantage in so doing, but  
GOA clearly differentiates between its own citizens and foreigners in  
responding to inquiries.

HILL

DRAFTED BY:

W. Thayer/jr

DRAFTING DATE

11/3/70

TEL. EXT.

121

CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

ALBUQUERQUE

CLEARANCES:

WASHDC with  
AMB:CHILL

~~UNCLASSIFIED OFFICIAL USE~~  
CLASSIFICATION

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE TELEGRAM

4 Nov 76  
1251

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM  
Amembassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: SHUM, TECH, AR  
SUBJECT: Disappearance of Federico Alvarez Rojas

ACTION: Secstate WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES 7250

REF: (A) State 264534; (B) Buenos Aires 7215

AMB  
DCM  
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RE

1. Alvarez Rojas is not rpt not known to Embassy's S & T Counselor/ERDA Scirep.
2. We are considering inquiry concerning him at appropriate level within CNEA, but, to determine where best to inquire, it would be helpful if we knew what his job was in CNEA and in what Center.
3. Post would appreciate Dept. obtaining such info from Fagen and/or subject's brother.
4. Advise.

*[Signature]*  
HILL

109-812-77

DRAFTED BY: POL/ERDA: RHWilcox/kc <i>RHW</i>	DRAFTING DATE 11/4/76	TEL. EXT. 377	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: REAR/AMB: RCH/211
CHANGES: POL: <i>[Signature]</i>	SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
A/DCM: WSSmith <i>[Signature]</i>			1976
LEGAL ATTACHE - <i>[Signature]</i>			

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
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☐ CHARGE TO

FROM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR SHUM AR IS  
SUBJECT: Forn Ministry reply to Congressional letter

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO: AmEmbassy TEL AVIV  
REF: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES ~~EXX~~ 7266  
BA 6575

1. Embassy today (Nov. 4) received from the Forn Ministry a copy of the September 28 letter sent to President Videla from 56 Congressmen and its reply. Forn Ministry note is being pouched.

Text of reply follows:

2. QUOTE The Under Secretariat of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Relations and Worship is pleased to send to the United States Embassy, for its information, a copy of the letter sent to His Excellency the President of the Republic Lt. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla signed by various members of the US Congress and having to do with alleged incidents described as anti-Semitic.

3. With respect to the letter, it is surprising, considering the date on which it was written, that the signatories were not aware of the press statements on this issue made by Argentine Chancellor Rear Admiral Cesar A. Guzzetti and Israeli Chancellor

PREPARED BY:  
POL:YThayer:jr

DRAFTING DATE  
11/4/76

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COMMENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:  
APOLCOUNS:AT Freeman

REFERENCES:

ADCM:WSmith  
AMB:RChill

1210

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Yigal Allon on the occasion of the meeting they had in New York during the XXXI UN General Assembly, during which the latter expressed his satisfaction with the measures taken by the Argentine government. UNQUOTE.

4. Complimentary close.

~~HILL~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 7  
05 NOV 76  
1255

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

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GDS

PFOR, PINT, SHUM, UK, AR

Congressman Drinan's Visit to Argentina in Amnesty  
International Delegation

SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AmEmbassy LONDON IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7283

State 272237

1. As of mid-morning November 5, UK Embassy has no rpt no instructions on handling of visit. UK Emboff expects, however, that he will shortly have instructions and that probably his Embassy will be told to give Lord Avebury support under same conditions outlined in reftel for Congressman Drinan. British understand that Lord Avebury also arriving morning November 6. As soon as UK Embassy receives its instructions we will consult. If instructions are compatible, we propose another joint approach to FonMinistry to convey our position and request assistance of Human Rights Office of Ministry in obtaining appointments with GOA officials. We will proceed with arranging appointments with non-GOA parties such as Dr. Resnizky of

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11/5/76

TEL. EXT.

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL: WSSmith

AM: RCHill

DCM: MChaplin

109-812-79



DAIA, coordinating with British and Lord Avebury to extent desired by Congressman Drinan.

2. Miss Feeney told UK Embassy morning November 5 that she had recommended "deferment" of visit to AI London, but was told that delegation will come in any event. We have not fully considered problem of Miss Feeney herself. She has expected to accompany delegation on calls and to act as interpreter. This would present no problem with non-GOA contacts, but we will strongly recommend to UK Embassy and to Congressman Drinan that she not accompany on any calls which might be arranged with GOA officials, for obvious reasons. We can suggest that GOA provide interpreter where necessary, or Emboffs can interpret.

3. We do not rpt not believe that Congressman Drinan's clerical garb will cause any difficulties.

~~X~~  
HILL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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IMMEDIATE INFO

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7369  
INFO RUESBA/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES IMMEDIATE 0537  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 17836

TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB		✓	DAO		✓
DCM		✓	LEGATT		✓
			DEA		
POL	3		FAS		
ECOM		✓	AID		
POL/R		✓	MILGP		
CO S			PEH		
ADM			GSO		
USIS		✓	B & F		
SCI		✓	CHRON		
SY			HF		

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SHUM, AR, UK  
SUBJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND DRINAN/AVEBURY TRIP

REFERENCE: STATE 272226

PER PARAGRAPH SIX (REFTEL), AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S  
CAROL REED CALLED EMBASSY NOVEMBER 5 BUT ONLY TO INFORM  
US OF THE DRINAN/AVEBURY TRIP TO ARGENTINA. REED AP-  
ARENTLY ASSUMES THE EMBASSY MIGHT BE SERVING AS A  
COMMUNICATIONS CHANNEL IF THE NEED ARISES.

SPIERS

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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**IMMEDIATE ACTION**

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BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 268860

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SHUM, AR, UK

SUBJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL VISIT

REFS: B.A. 7140; STATE 266594

1. PATRICIA FEENEY CALLED DEPARTMENT FROM NEW YORK MORNING OF NOVEMBER 1. SHE FLIES TO BUENOS AIRES NOVEMBER 2. AVEBURY AND DRINAN ARRIVE NOVEMBER 5. ALL THREE WILL REMAIN UNTIL NOVEMBER 15. VISIT HAS BEEN CAREFULLY DISCUSSED WITH ARGENTINE LONDON EMBASSY. VISITORS WILL INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, SURVEY SITUATION OF REFUGEES, ATTEMPT TO SECURE LIST OF PRISONERS, AND URGE GOA TO ISSUE EXILE DECREES ON SOME. IN BUENOS AIRES, GROUP WILL STAY AT EL PRESIDENTE HOTEL. THEY HOPE TO VISIT CORDOBA BUT MAY NOT RECEIVE PERMISSION. FEENEY WILL SEEK ARRANGE APPOINTMENTS BETWEEN NOVEMBER 2 AND 5.

GWM AMNESTY NEW YORK SAID BRITISH EMBASSY HAD AGREED TO KEEP A WATCHFUL EYE FOR ALL THREE, DRINAN INCLUDED, AND ASKED THAT U.S. EMBASSY ALSO DO THE SAME. AMNESTY SEEMS TO BE PARTICULARLY WORRIED REGARDING SAFETY OF MISS FEENEY. DEPARTMENT SUGGESTED NAME OF WAYNE SMITH IN CASE SHE WISHED TO CALL EMBASSY.

3. DRINAN MAY NOT RETURN TO WASHINGTON BEFORE PROCEEDING BUENOS AIRES. IF HE IS AVAILABLE DEPARTMENT WILL DISCUSS ARGENTINE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION WITH HIM.

BT  
#8860

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Human Rights file*

TO	ACT	INF	TO	ACT	INF
AMB		✓	DAO		✓
DCM		✓	GAIT		✓
			DEA		
POL	3		FAS		
ECOM		✓	AID		
POL/R		✓	MILGP		✓
CO S			PE+		
ADM			GSO		
USIS		✓	B & F		
SCI		✓	CYRON		✓
SY			RF		✓

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LEGAL ATTACHE—BUENOS AIRES

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**IMMEDIATE ACTION**

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O 061647Z NOV 76 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES NIACT IMMEDIATE 4623

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 274185

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:P;NT, SHUM, UNK, AR

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN DRINAN'S VISIT TO ARGENTINA IN AMNESTY  
INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION

REFERENCE: BUENOS AIRES 7283

1. WE FULLY CONCUR WITH YOUR VIEW THAT MS. FEENEY SHOULD  
NOT REPEAT NOT ACCOMPANY DRINAN ON ANY APPOINTMENTS WITH  
GOA OFFICIALS AT WHICH EMBASSY IS PRESENT. WHILE WE ARE  
CERTAIN CONGRESSMAN DRINAN WILL UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF  
USG NOT ASSOCIATING ITSELF WITH AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL SO  
DIRECTLY, OUR POSITION IN THIS MATTER IS NOT NEGOTIABLE.

2. WE HAVE ASSUMED THAT THE BULK OF NON-OFFICIAL APPOINT-  
MENTS WOULD BE MADE BY MS. FEENEY. WHERE EMBASSY INVOLVE-  
MENT IN MAKING APPOINTMENTS UNAVOIDABLE, IT SHOULD NOT AC-  
COMPANY WHERE MS. FEENEY WILL BE PRESENT.

3. WE WISH TO ASSIST CONGRESSMAN DRINAN IN HIS CAPACITY AS  
MEMBER OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BUT CANNOT BE IN POSITION  
OF SUGGESTING FORMAL OR INFORMAL SPONSORSHIP OF AI MISSION.

KISSINGER

BT

#4185

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO	ACI	INF	TA
AMB		✓	D
DGM		✓	C
			D
FOL	3		F
ECOM		✓	AD
POL/R		✓	M/C
CONS		✓	P
ADM			G
USIS		✓	B
SEI		✓	C/ROH
SY			RF

109-812-82

NNNN

*Rux*

8 NOV 76 1503

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION:

GDS

PINT, SHUM, AR, UK

Congressman Drinan's Visit to Argentina

SecState WASHDC PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7326

REF:

State 274185

AMB  
DCM  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Congressman Drinan arrived on schedule November 6 along with Lord Avebury. The two were met at airport by U.S. and British Emboffs and by Ms. Feeney (who rode out with British contingent).
2. After arrival, ground rules for appointments were discussed and agreed upon. Ms. Feeney will arrange and accompany on all repeat all nonofficial appointments. U.S. and British Embassies for their part will call Foreign Ministry's Human Rights Working Group this morning (November 8) to ask for appointment for Drinan and Avebury there--hopefully for this afternoon. Ministry will doubtless insist (if they give appointment at all) that officers of both Embassies accompany and we will do so. Ms. Feeney agrees that she will not repeat not accompany on any official calls if Emboffs must do so. If Ministry's Working

DRAFTED BY:

FOL:WSSmith:mg

DRAFTING DATE

11/8/76

TEL. EXT.

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109-812-83  
CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

CHARGE: MChaplin

CLEARANCES:

SEARCHED INDEXED  
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NOV 8 1976

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CLASSIFICATION

LEGAL ATTACHE--BUENOS AIRES

OPTIONAL FORM 100  
(Formerly FD-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

Group grants appointment, we will present it, as central coordinating point indicated in Ministry's own note, with requests for other official calls--at Interior Ministry and so forth. We will continue to take position with GOA that we are ~~assist~~ assisting Congressman Drinan in his capacity as member of U.S. Congress and that our assistance can in no way be interpreted as sponsorship for or even association with Amnesty International investigation.

3. Congressman Drinan called on Ambassador evening of November 6 prior to latter's departure for U.S. We have offered to ~~assist~~ assist Congressman in any way we properly can do so. We expressed willingness to provide him with bodyguard if he so wished but he declined offer.

4. Congressman Drinan seems pleased with arrangements so far. Both he and Ms. Feeney are taking attitude that they wish to be as independent as possible but are grateful for our help when it is necessary--such as in arranging and accompanying on official appointments. Congressman has jokingly mentioned to us several times advantages that would accrue to his political career if GOA should expel him from ~~MEXICO~~ country.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

CONTROL 2348  
9 Nov 76  
1245

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS:  
SUBJECT:

FROM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
GDS  
PIET, SHUM, UK, AR  
Congressman Drinan's Visit to Argentina

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO:

AMEMBASSY LONDON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7348

REF: Buenos Aires 7326

AMB  
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SCIAT  
LEGAT  
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CHRON

1. Foreign Ministry granted appointment (see reftel) and U.S. and British Embassy Political Officers accompanied Congressman Drinan and Lord Avebury (without Ms. Feeney) to meeting at Ministry afternoon of Nov. 8. Foreign Ministry group was headed by Captain (Navy) Santolianne, who is deputy to Under Sec Allara, and included officials of Ministry's Human Rights Division as well as officer from Legal Division. Two other Argentines present were never introduced. (Friendly source in Ministry told Embaff subsequently that two strangers were unknowns from "other Ministries" -- he, and we, would guess Min of Interior or security forces.) Meeting lasted over one hour. COA officials did not attempt to explain their view of human rights situation.

2. Santolianne assured visitors that they were most welcome as

officials of USG and INT on visit to Argentina, and that

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POL:RESTeven:jr

DRAFTING DATE

11/9/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POLCOUN:RSmith

CLEARANCES:

CHARGE: MChaplin

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SERIALIZED..... FILED.....

NOV 9 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 153  
(Formerly FS-413)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

Ministry would like to do all possible to assist them. He pointed out that many of high officials whom visitors wished to see are absent from city, traveling in connection with Presidential visit to Chile. Offer was made to assemble group of appropriate Ministers or their deputies for meeting with ~~visit~~ visitors in Pon Ministry, at which time questions could be put and appropriate officials could answer. Visitors accepted this format and meeting is tentatively set for 1600 hours Nov. 10 at Pon Ministry. At that time visitors will have opportunity to request further appointments or to arrange private discussions with any of those present.

3. Santoizanne clearly expected to leave specific questions for later meeting, but visitors insisted that they would wish some answers at Nov. 10 meeting, rather than being told at that time that answers would be forthcoming later. On general topics, Lord Avebury asked that someone at next meeting be prepared to discuss with them such topics as lengthy detentions without charges, lack of judicial intervention under State of Siege, detention conditions, option under Constitution (Art 23) to leave country, and maltreatment of prisoners.

4. In addition, visitors indicated they would like to have firm answers by next meeting concerning status of a "sample" of persons reported missing or in detention. Cong. Drinan selected names of Monica Mignone (disappeared in May, status unknown, Embassy has raised before with PonMin); Juan Mexiles (BA 6619,



previously raised with PonMin, no reply); and Ernesto Benado Rejovatsky (BA 6338, not rpt not raised with GOA). At Nov. 10 meeting, full list of names in which visitors have interest will be presented to GOA officials. Cong. Drinan indicated that he and other members of U.S. Congress had been inquiring about these cases with Argentine Embassy in Washington and in direct letters to President Videla for months, without obtaining any response.

5. Santolanne asked if there were anything in particular visitors wished to see. Lord Avebury had name of specific prisoner in Villa Devoto prison in Buenos Aires whom he would like to visit. Ministry officials promptly invited visitors and Embocfs to "have lunch with the prisoners at Villa Devoto tomorrow", and talk to anyone they wished. It was arranged that visitors and escorts will meet Ministry and other GOA officials at the prison about noon Nov. 9 for visit.

6. Finally, Santolanne informed visitors that local press has asked, through Ministry, about visit and about possibility of press conference. After consultation, Lord Avebury and Cong. Drinan said they would not wish to meet press "at this stage", and left open question of meeting near end of visit.

7. Cong. Drinan took very forceful stance before Ministry group. He warned them of seriousness of human rights problem, and demanded that he receive answers to his questions about specific individuals no later than Nov. 10 meeting, and full list of

names of all political prisoners held by GOA. He said that he and other U.S. Congressmen had gotten no response despite repeated inquiries to GOA over several months, and that he would not accept "stonewalling" tactic from GOA. He emphasized points several times by pounding fist on table. If satisfactory answers are not forthcoming by Nov. 10 meeting, he warned, he will indeed go to press and will tell them that GOA refused to cooperate. He will also, he said, report situation on floor of Congress and there will be real probability of quick cutoff of "49 million dollars of economic assistance" to Argentina, despite fact that Argentina is "great country" and U.S. wishes to preserve friendly relations.

8. COMMENT: It was abundantly clear that Ministry group had orders to listen and to attempt to cooperate. Smiles and words of welcome were literally through gritted teeth, however, and Embassy officers heard sotto voce "What arrogance!" in Spanish from one of Ministry officers during one of Cong. Drinan's spirited statements. Amnesty International was not mentioned by either side at any time, although both visitors referred openly to AI documents during discussion, and British Emboff just managed to prevent his visitor from handing Ministry group a list of prisoners and missing persons which he said was clearly labeled as coming from a local terrorist publication. After leaving Ministry, visitors asked Emboffs if they believed Ms. Feeney might accompany group on visit to Villa

Devotee risen. Embassies suggested that this might be counter-productive with COA, and that both Embassies would prefer that she not accompany on official visit. Matter appears to be closed.

9. In meantime, visitors are carrying on extensive schedule of private appointments arranged without U.S. or British Embassy assistance.

CHAPLIN

CONTROL 7266  
9 NOV 76 1743

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, UK, AR  
SUBJECT: Congressman Drinan's Visit to Argentina

ACTION: SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7366

REF: Buenos Aires 7348

AMB  
Chargé  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. At about 2400 hours November 8 Miss Feeney telephoned both U. S. and UK Emboffs to report incident involving Congressman Drinan and Lord Avebury. Upon return to hotel about 2330 hours, AM AI group was met in lobby by several men in civilian clothes, leader of whom introduced them as "Federal Police sent to protect visitors." Some form of police identity card was briefly presented. While AI visitors were stating that they had not requested such protection, a photographer who may have been press representative or with police took flash photo of Congressman Drinan. According to consensus of stories, Congressman Drinan reacted strongly and demanded that picture (i.e., film) be given to him. Miss Feeney referred to a "scuffle." In end, film was given to Congressman Drinan, AI party retired to their rooms, and group which had claimed to be police apparently left

DRAFTED BY:

POL:RSSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE

11/9/76

TEL. EXT.

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith *for*

CLEARANCES:

Charge: MCH551lin *for*

NOV 10 1976

LEGAL ATTACHE  
BUENOS AIRES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 10  
(Formerly FD-4)  
January 1961  
Dept. of State

hotel and have not returned.

2. Emboff immediately called Congressman Drinan (while UK Emboff did same with Lord Avebury) and confirmed substance of story. Congressman Drinan expressed some concern that the supposed police might have been right-wing extralegal group. Emboff offered to send guard to hotel immediately if Congressman wished to have such protection. Reply was that Embassy should consider its own position if anything happened to U. S. Congressman. Guard was sent promptly, and will remain with Congressman full time until his departure unless specifically ordered away. Incident was reported November 9 to Foreign Ministry, which promised prompt investigation. ~~of interest~~

3. Just before scheduled departure for Villa Devoto prison at noon November 9, Congressman Drinan informed Emboff that he would not be accompanying Lord Avebury on that visit, which had been arranged by FonMinistry. He intends instead to visit prison in La Plata, <sup>ON ADV 10</sup> about one hour drive south of Buenos Aires, where a number of political prisoners are held. If arrangements can be completed with GOA, Emboff will accompany Congressman Drinan on La Plata visit.

4. On November 8, GOA released short press statement concerning visit of two legislators, who had been presented by their respective Embassies, and who were visiting country to consider human rights questions. No mention of AI.

5. Meeting with GOA officials from various Ministries is confirmed for 1600 hours November 10.

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6. FYI UK Embaff has expressed concern which apparently is shared by Lord Avebury over emphasis being given to his position as U. S. legislator by Congressman Drinan. Drinan has spoken repeatedly of sanctions which might be imposed by Congress, etc., placing stress upon his official status, while Lord Avebury considers that he has no official mandate from HMG for visit and considers himself to be on fact-finding trip for AI. Two legislators have decided to undertake separate schedules for most appointments, "to cover more ground." END FYI.

7. As this cable being closed, FonMinistry source confirms that visitors to hotel were indeed group ~~XXXXXX~~ of Federal police sent to offer ~~protection~~ to visitors. When visitors indicated they did not need protection, police withdrew.

CHAPLIN

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# TELEGRAM

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

NA  
PINT PINS SHUM AR  
Human Rights Round-up No. 5

ACTION:

SECSTATE WASHDC

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~ BUENOS AIRES

7386

REF: a) BA 6975; b) BA 6490

1. The Wife and political colleagues of former UCR Senator Solari Irigoyen have publicly defended the detained lawyer against last month's news "leaks" connecting him with subversives. (See reftel A).

The statement of ten former senators--also signed by UCR President Ricardo Balbin and former Argentine President Arturo Illia--

described Solari Irigoyen as a patriot and ardent defender of democracy and human rights, both of which are guaranteed in the Constitution. It also rejected the accusations made against him.

His wife Teresa Hansen released a letter she sent to President Videla Nov. 3 refuting the charges against her husband. She listed a number of factual errors in the accusations and pointed

out her husband hasn't practiced law since 1972. Sunday's

~~BA Herald (Nov. 7) described Solari Irigoyen as a symbol of the struggle between justice and force. "If terrorism has really~~

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USDAO  
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DRAFTED BY:

POL:YThayer:jr

DRAFTING DATE

11/10/76

TEL. EXT.

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POLCOUNS:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

CHARGE:MChaplin

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CLASSIFICATION

OPTIONAL FORM 10  
(Formerly Form 10)  
January 1975  
Dept. of State

been crushed, as armed forces leaders claim, and only the last stages of mopping up remain, then there can be no justification for the continuation of exceptional wartime measures...if, indeed, they were ever really justified," Columnist James Neilson said. He questioned, though, how much President Videla is able to do about the mysterious disappearances, saying it appears provincial military commanders use extraordinary powers. "One's rights appear to diminish the further he gets from Buenos Aires."

2. Two Catholic bookstores were sprayed with machine gun fire from passing cars on Thursday night (Nov. 4). Damage was slight and there were no injuries. There have been no reported attacks against Jewish establishments for more than one month.

3. Newspapers continue to publish names of persons missing and families' efforts on their behalf. Recent cases include lawyer Mario Gerardo Yacub, taken from his office by six armed men Nov. 1; lawyer Baldonero J. Valera, kidnapped Nov. 3; Claudio Augusto Levitan and Celso Pedro Cruces, taken from the Cruces home Oct. 27. In all cases writs of habeas corpus were filed. Parents of the last two have appealed to the local Catholic hierarchy, Interior Minister Harguindeguy and the Pope, press reports say.

4. The Navy head of the military area in Trelew has ordered a search for missing former Secretary-General of the local communist party Elbio Angel Bel and the former attorney of the Popular Socialist Party Sergio Armando Maida and his wife, it was reported



today (Nov. 8). There were no further details.

5. Venezuela has given provisional asylum to an Argentine citizen in its embassy in Buenos Aires, according to a press report from Caracas Nov. 5. Venezuelan Foreign Minister Ramon Escovar said he will receive permanent asylum, presumably in Caracas, as soon as the paperwork is completed.

6. The death toll of terrorists has climbed precipitously in recent weeks. Following the murder of two police guards at the home of the university rector in La Plata Oct. 27 and of a retired non-commissioned naval officer Oct. 29, at least twenty terrorists were reported killed in separate incidents in the La Plata area Oct. 29-31. As reported in Army communiques, ten were killed on Oct. 29 in a house raid and two separate shootouts during road checks. Two days later nine more were killed, allegedly while attacking a police station and another while resisting a police search. The incidents have raised speculation that security forces are in fact continuing to take reprisals against suspected terrorists, but are disguising the executions as deaths resulting from gunbattles with authorities. On Nov. 5, 17 extremists were killed in separate incidents in Buenos Aires and Rosario. Seven more were killed Nov. 6 in Corrientes, including regional Montonero head Eduardo Isidro Colombo. Bodies are also turning up in various parts of the country. Bodies of nine young persons were found floating on the Lujan River near San Fernando around Oct. 15. The bodies, which had

1244

been tied to oil drums, had been in the water at least 45 days. Seven more bodies were found in a field near Cordoba. La Opinion reported the discovery of the seven on Nov. 5 after authorities had suppressed the story for a week. Another victim was discovered in a reservoir in Mendoza Province and three more in a garbage dump in Buenos Aires Nov. 6. All of the victims had been repeatedly shot. None of the bodies has been publicly identified.

7. The suspension of Article 23 of the Constitution giving citizens detained under state of siege the right to opt to leave the country was extended on Oct. 28 for another 180 days. Earlier the Interior Ministry announced that persons detained by the Executive could petition to leave the country within 90 days of their arrest order. The Ministry would have 90 more days in which to respond but would deny the petition if it considered the petitioner to be a threat to national security.

8. Isabel Perón will not stand trial again for drawing a personal check on a public charity fund. The court based its decision on the principle of double jeopardy (Mrs. Peron had been cleared of the charge last year), even though it said that the earlier trial was full of "irregularities." The local press praised the court verdict as an example of the independence and impartiality of the court system in upholding a principle of law, and noted that Mrs. Peron would still be tried on a number of other charges of misuse of public funds.

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9. Rep. Don Fraser has invited La Opinion Editor Jacobo Timerman to testify in further Congressional hearings on the Argentine human rights situation early next year. La Opinion today (Nov. 9) published Fraser's reply to Timerman's letter of Sept. 30 offering to testify (reftel B). Fraser wrote that the subcommittee was interested in a wide spectrum of points of view and plans to call additional hearings once Congress reconvenes, probably in January or February.

10. The Interior Ministry's new policy on prisoners' petitions to leave the country was also blunted when the government the same day quickly extended its suspension of the Constitutional guarantee of the same right. While we have yet to see how many persons submit petitions--and how many the government accepts--the decree is so worded as to leave the detainees' fate entirely up to the Interior Ministry's discretion, just where it already resides.

11. Tractor company personnel manager Adolfo Valis was shot dead by terrorists outside his home yesterday (Nov. 9). Valis had retired from the air force in 1963. His was the eighth murder of company executives in Buenos Aires' western suburbs in the last three months. Grafa Executive Carlos Valentin Aguirre was killed Nov. 8 and Chrysler businessman Carlos Souto last week (Nov. 3),

12. COMMENT: One is tempted to believe there has been some improvement in the human rights situation in Argentina over the

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Given the continuing appearance of bodies  
any conclusion about an improvement  
noted in para six, however, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
in the Human Rights situation should be deferred.  
~~situation for yet a period of time before drawing any conclusions~~  
~~as to whether there is in fact real improvement in human rights~~  
~~situation.~~

CHAPLIN

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~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

## Classification

# TELEGRAM

CONTROL 7L  
11 NOV 76  
1750

INDICATE  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

FROM

AmEmbassy BUENOS AIRES

CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:

SUBJECT:

GDS

SHUM, PINT, AR, UK

Congressman Drinan's Visit to Argentina - Meeting with GOA

ACTION:

SecState WASHDC IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7428

REF:

Buenos Aires 7366

AMB  
Charge  
POL-3  
POL/R  
ECOM  
USIS  
USDAO  
MILGP-2  
LEGAT  
SCIAT  
RF  
CHRON

1. Summary. Useful, noncontroversial meeting November 10 between Congressman Drinan and Lord Avebury and officials of GOA helped clear air of misunderstandings, on both sides, but revealed no significant change in GOA positions. Sizable police escort has been established around visitors. While Lord Avebury visited Villa Devoto prison, Congressman Drinan's proposed visit to La Plata prison was postponed to November 12. Official news agency TELAM has carried on hostile campaign against Amnesty International visitors, going so far as to fabricate quotes, while majority of press has treated visit with reasonable objectivity. Congressman Drinan has indicated no interest in Embassy briefing, but told Emboffs that GOA had presented its case well, that his thinking has perhaps "turned around" a bit, and that sanctions on Argentina might not

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FOL:RSSSteven:mg

DRAFTING DATE

11/11/76

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CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY:

POL:WSSmith

CLEARANCES:

FOL:YThayer

Charge: MChaplin

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OPTIONAL FORM 103  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27  
5010-104  
Rev. 6-74

necessarily be best course. So far, GOA and press appear to understand correctly role of Embassies in visit. End Summary.

2. AI visitors have continued heavy schedule of private interviews, avoiding press where possible, and calling upon Embassies only when necessary to obtain access to GOA officials, Papal Nuncio, and one editor. Avebury visited Villa Devoto prison in Buenos Aires for six hours November 10. Drinan's proposed visit November 11 to La Plata prison was not possible because of coordination failures on part of visitors. He has requested La Plata visit for November 12. Problem may arise in that police station was bombed and numbers of extremists killed there in last few days, and GOA may rpt may legitimately hesitate to expose Drinan to possible danger (BA 7385).

3. At specific request of Drinan, Embassy guard was withdrawn in early evening November 10. However, on morning of November 11 FonMin official informed Embassy that Min Interior Harguindeguy had ordered Federal Police protection instituted around visitors beginning evening November 10. Since that time both Drinan and Avebury have had plainclothes police escort at all times. Visitors have not objected.

4. On evening November 9 Avebury and Drinan met with local Jewish community leaders. Our sources who were present informed us that Jewish leaders worked hard to put anti-Semitism problem in perspective, and insisted to visitors that heavy-handed measures against GOA would be counter-productive.

5. Official news agency TELAM, which may be working without much coordination with FonMin, has produced stories hostile to AI and visitors, fabricating or distorting quotes and focusing on such irrelevancies as Avebury's manner of dress. TELAM reported that at end of Villa Devoto visit, on street, Avebury was confronted by "sister of army officer recently killed by subversives." British Emboff who was present told us that alleged sister was actually encountered inside prison in what appeared to be staged incident. Effort of TELAM and one or two papers which have used its stories appears aimed at discrediting AI. Rest of press has shown reasonable objectivity about visit, and several strictly accurate stories appeared November 11 reporting comments of AI visitors interviewed by press upon leaving FonMinistry meeting late

November 10. Drinan and Avebury have reserved decision on holding press conference at end of visit, and Ms. Feeney told Emboff that likely outcome is reading of formal statement at end of visit without questions or other comment.

6. Drinan has repeated <sup>jocular</sup> comment that he would not mind being expelled to CBS representative and other U. S. newsmen, who have relayed it to us.

7. Avebury has had long and thorough briefings by British Embassy, and British Emboff reports that during long session at Villa Devoto Avebury appears to have made very favorable impression on GOA officials who accompanied, making clear

role of AI and sincerity of concern over human rights. Avebury was given run of prison, talking to detainees at random. Of 2,800 prisoners there, 560 are "politicals;" all but 36 are women. Men are held normally at La Plata. Private interviews were permitted, and all prisoners interviewed told Avebury that treatment once in prison was quite correct. All stated, however, that in period in custody of Federal Police before reaching prison they had been tortured or treated brutally, some raped, etc. (Min Interior official later claimed that subversives are instructed if captured to routinely claim torture and abuse, and systematically coordinate their stories.)

8. At 1600 November 10, Drinan and Avebury attended meeting at FonMinistry, accompanied by U. S. and British Embassies.

Meeting lasted three and one-half hours. It was chaired by FonMin UnderSec Captain (Navy) Allara. Among 14 GOA officials present, only 9 were identified. UnderSec Laureano Alvarez Estrada represented MinJustice, full contingent of FonMin human rights group and legal advisors were present, and Min Interior had two identified officials. Chief spokesman for MinInterior, well-prepared with dossiers, etc., was introduced only as Ricardo Flouret, whom we have not met before. (Our subsequent research identified him as active-duty Colonel (Army) Ricardo Norberto Flouret, who was assigned as Assistant Military Attache in Washington in 1972. Flouret

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spoke with evident authority, and appears to be key figure in MinInterior on matters of anti-subversion campaign, prisoners, etc.)

9. Allara opened meeting by welcoming visitors in their capacities as legislators, but immediately recognized AI affiliation. He read AI's own definition of its interest only in prisoners of conscience, and announced that GOA held no one on such grounds. All detainees or prisoners are held on grounds of criminal subversion and violent acts, thus GOA has no political prisoners. From this start, meeting followed rambling course, with Avebury acting as principal spokesman for AI side. Avebury opened with condolences for tragic losses among security forces and assassinations of businessmen, etc., by guerrillas, and sympathy for victims. This defused meeting at its start. Drinan interjected from time to time, but without passion which had made first meeting (BA 7348) somewhat tense. There was no confrontation, although positions and arguments came out forcefully. Summary of key points of long session follows:

10. AI visitors said that most important things GOA could do to help reputation would be to (a) publish full list of prisoners; (b) investigate disappearances; (c) investigate allegations of brutality; (d) clear up question of involuntary returns of persons to their countries of origin.

11. List of prisoners: Alvarez of MinJustice claimed that

all decrees of detentions, including State of Siege cases, appear with names in Official Bulletin, published daily.

Anyone could compile list. Drinan asked for sample decrees, aide and/~~aside~~ was sent out to get them. On return, he handed dossier to Allara and consulted privately. GOA position was then changed to explanation that decrees appeared but not with names. Further discussion obscured fact that decrees also are not rpt not published. Despite heavy pressure on question from both Avebury and Drinan, GOA side skated around problem of list and finally left it understood that list has not been published and will not be published in all probability, for security reasons. Flouret said total prison capacity is only about 4,500 and "prisons are not full." GOA insisted that families of all rpt all prisoners, including those held under State of Siege, are informed of whereabouts of prisoners. Avebury indicated politely but firmly that evidence makes this assertion questionable. Lengthy discussion made it clear that GOA considers that terms "detainees" or "prisoners" refers to properly arrested and legally processed persons, setting aside matter of detentions of persons often for lengthy periods before it is officially admitted that they are in GOA custody. Flouret did admit that there can be periods of up to 10 days of sort of "preventive detention" while investigation carried on. He also cited overburdened courts and long delays of legal system.

12. Disappearances: Flouret said that MinInterior has investigated all cases brought to its attention, some 100 to 150, and cases remain open where no solution reached. He insisted that many alleged disappearances are result of subversives "going underground" or leaving country clandestinely without even telling families, who then report missing person in good faith. Avebury cited frequent cases of persons kidnapped who then turn up later in GOA hands, but lengthy discussion yielded no progress. Visitors raised a number of individual cases and received some information from Flouret -- see septels. (It appears that GOA may permit departure from Argentina (i.e., expel) some of these detainees as gesture toward AI visitors.)

13. Brutality: Allara and Flouret stated flatly that torture and brutality are prohibited by law and practice, and that where some isolated, individual abuses have taken place; responsible officials have been charged, tried, and punished. They declined to identify such cases. Detailed charges and questions by AI visitors, identifying Federal Police as main source of abuse, met denial and depreciation by GOA.

14. Involuntary return of refugees: Allara noted that GOA had promised from beginning not to do this, and had not rpt not done so in any case. Avebury handed over list of several Uruguayans allegedly kidnapped in Argentina who have recently turned up in Uruguay in detention, and said evidence was very

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strong they were kidnapped by security forces here. Charge met flat denial; "MinInterior has investigated and found no evidence to sustain charge."

15. Other points of interest: Refugees: There are 500,000 illegal entrants from neighboring countries, of whom 14,000 are registered as refugees with UNHCR. Although Argentina reserved position on recognizing Latin Americans as refugees, it cooperates with UNHCR and is doing best to move refugees abroad. It would be happy to have more visas for refugees from interested countries. No one raised U. S. parole program, although Drinan has told Emboffs privately that 200 new authorizations are far too few in his view. Allara described new laws which permit legalization of status of illegal entrants.

16. GOA side repeatedly throughout meeting asked for understanding of situation/~~understanding of situation~~ in Argentina, background of violence, and need to give GOA time to bring situation under control.

17. AI side made its concerns politely but firmly known, and promised that its report would be objective. Report will be offered to GOA in confidence for comment before publication, according to Avebury.

18. Meeting broke up with cordial farewells, and visitors left to be confronted with press corps in Ministry plaza. By fast footwork U. S. Emboff managed to leave interpreting chore to British Emboff. Several provocative questions on AI financing and attitude toward Communist countries were

well handled by both Avebury and Drinan, and accurately reported in November 11 press.

19. Meeting did help both sides to understand position of other better, and cleared up some mutual suspicions. GOA tried to create impression of true concern over human rights and willingness to cooperate with visitors. However, officials evaded answers to key questions, and held to legalistic definitions to such a degree that AI visitors gave up some lines of questioning in face of obvious unwillingness of GOA side to discuss real issue. On balance, it appears to have been useful, but not to have produced any significant new development.

20. FYI. After meeting, Drinan told Emboffs that he thought GOA had presented its case well, that his thinking had turned around to some extent, and that perhaps sanctions on GOA such as those imposed on Chile and Uruguay might not necessarily be best course of action at this time. Argentine newspaper owner who saw Drinan told NY Times correspondent de Onis that Drinan had said more or less same thing to him.

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# TELEGRAM

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E.O. 11652: ~~TOP SECRET~~ *GD.S.*

TAGS: PINT SHUM UK

SUBJECT: GOA Responds to Congressman Drinan's Human Rights Queries

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES 7429

REF: BA 7348

1. SUMMARY. GOA responded on several specific human rights cases raised by Father Drinan and Lord Avebury Nov. 7 at second meeting with high level govt officials at the Foreign Ministry yesterday (Nov. 10) (See Septel.) Whereabouts of Monica Mignone remain unknown. Ernesto Benado, who is a naturalized Argentine citizen, and Argentine Juan Mendez are both presently in jail facing charges. However, GOA officials indicated that due to considerable US interest, the Interior Ministry hoped to have "good news" soon, i.e. probably expulsion orders for both to leave the country. Eleven priests are presently being detained, all but two of them Argentine and all with charges pending. An expulsion order is being prepared for Irish Father Rice. For Ministry official privately suggested to Emboff a working meeting following the Drinan visit

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in which USG has expressed interest. END SUMMARY.

2. At a meeting in the Foreign Ministry yesterday (Nov. 10), Interior Ministry official Ricardo Flouret provided information on specific human rights cases raised earlier by Father Drinan and Lord Avebury (reftel). Despite considerable effort on the part of her rather close friends in high positions, the whereabouts of Monica Maria Mignone is still unknown. Flouret made no allusions to her possible connections to subversion (which he did in all other cases mention); the govt simply had not been able to locate her. Remarking on her father's belief that she is (or was) being held by the Navy, Flouret did not deny the possibility, but intimated that the govt (i.e. the Interior Ministry) could not answer for acts committed by the Navy.

3. Ernesto Benado Rejovisky, who Flouret said was a naturalized Argentine citizen, was described as a leader of the JCR Revolutionary ~~(terrorist groups)~~ Coordinating Junta including ERP, MIR, Tupamaros and other Southern cone extremist groups). He had been ordered expelled from the country on July 27, 1976, but Civil Judge Carlos Manuel Greco ruled he could not be deported because he was a naturalized Argentine citizen. He is still in prison, but the Interior Ministry hopes to have "good news" on him within the month (i.e. probably expulsion from the country. Benado apparently has a visa to France.)

4. Juan Mendez still has three charges pending against him, including an armed attempt to occupy a university building and car theft (he was cleared of one charge in August). Due

to special US interest in his case, Flouret agreed to bring up the matter of Mendez's expulsion from the country with the Interior Minister.

5. Flouret presented a list of eleven priests who are currently in jail. All have charges pending against them and in every case their bishops have been fully informed. There are no foreign priests currently detained save one who has criminal charges against him. (Flouret left out Irish Father Rice who remains detained by the Executive. Foreign Ministry official told Emboff that despite serious charges against him, an expulsion order was being prepared for Father Rice.)

6. Flouret read the charges pending against six Argentine citizens who had been named by Amnesty International as persons detained without charge under state of siege. Most of the charges include possession of firearms and subversive literature, among others. There was no discussion concerning expulsion of these persons from the country.

7. Father Drinan appeared to be fully satisfied with the responses to his specific queries. He declined to raise the case of Dora Goldfarb because he was not personally acquainted with the case. Lord Avebury did pass to govt officials a list compiled by AI of hundreds of persons--including police, executives, civilians, etc.--either killed or missing since January 1975. GOA officials said they could better handle queries about specific individuals. The name of lawyer Mario Gerardo Yacub was raised



during the meeting, but no new list was presented to Argentine officials for resolution, nor was a later meeting scheduled.

8. For Ministry official from human rights working group later privately suggested to Emboff a working meeting next week at which Embassy could present full list of all those persons in which USG has expressed interest. (To date, Embassy has presented individual cases as the inquiries came in.) He said he would provide full reports on each case known to the govt. This time he did not exclude Argentine citizens, which he had earlier claimed would not be considered by working group.

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E.O. 11652: N/U

TAGS: PINS, SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: JUAN MENDEZ  
B.A. 01286

MENDEZ TRANSFER TO UNIT 9 IS VERY DISTURBING. DEPARTMENT CONCURS WITH EMBASSY'S EXPRESSION OF CONCERN TO EXECUTIVE AND MILITARY CHANNELS. OFFICES OF CONGRESSMEN DRINAN AND RAILSBACK, AS WELL AS JOHN HUTCHISON, GREATLY APPRECIATE EMBASSY'S EFFORTS ON BEHALF MENDEZ.

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GOA reports on human rights cases

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BUENOS AIRES - 7458

REF: a) BA 7429; b) BA 6626

1. In response to Embassy list of human rights cases, Foreign Ministry human rights working group official today (Nov. 12) provided the following information: (see Ref A for report on Father Patrick Rice, Juan Mendez, Ernesto Benado and Monica Mignone.)

a. Uruguayan Senator Enrique Erro---a decree expelling him from the country was signed Nov. 3 and he should be shortly leaving for France.

b. Federico Alvarez Rojas---~~has~~ not registered.

c. Dora Goldfarb---detained by Executive (decree 1120 of June 19, 1976) in Villa Devoto on charges of subversion.

(Father Israel Goldfarb came to Embassy today to plead for a visa for his daughter, an Argentine citizen. He visited her in prison yesterday and said she had been roughly treated

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after having apparently "disappeared" in Mendoza where she had been imprisoned since March. Father waffled on daughter's Communist party affiliation (see reftel B). Consoff gave him the requested immigrant visa application forms. GOA official later ~~was~~ remarked to Erboff that Dora Goldfarb's case was "serious." It seems unlikely GOA will free or expel her in the near future, whether or not she obtains visa for US or elsewhere.

d. Pedro Lucero Bagnati--Goldfarb's Argentine husband, detained by Executive (decree 1120 of June 9) for subversive activities, in prison in Mendoza.

e. Antonio Missetich--not registered.

f. Dr. Claudio Santiago Bertran--detained in Cordoba for Communist activities by Executive decree 1310 of July 7, 1976.

g. Ivo Maria Domerque--not registered.

h. Luis Iturriaga Caselli--not registered.

i. Mario Gerardo Vacub--not registered.

j. Raymundo Gleyzer--not registered (GOA official volunteered that father is well-known lawyer exiled in France for last two or three years.)

k. Paulo Antonio Paranagua (Brazilian)--detained by Executive in Sierra Chica prison, frequently visited by mother and lawyer, heavily implicated in subversion, but may well be expelled because of diplomat father. GOA official emphasized that Brazilian govt has made no representations on Paranagua's behalf.

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1. Maria Regina Jacob Pilla (Brazilian)--detained either in La Plata or Villa Devoto, less likely she will get expulsion decree.

m. Maria Regina Marcondes Pinto (Brazilian)--detained by Executive decree.

n. Ricardo Alberto Hinrichsen--expulsion decree already signed, and he is already in custody of Federal Police awaiting departure for recipient country, apparently Great Britain.

o. Hipolito Solari Irigoyen--detained by Executive decree in Rawson Prison.

2. COMMENT: HR working group has recently made considerable effort to cooperate with Emboffs, producing rapid responses to human rights queries. Apparently their assiduity is not limited to US Embassy; Emboff saw neatly typed responses to lists submitted by the Spanish and British governments, as well. The working group's efforts, however, appear to be limited to those cases "registered" at the Interior Ministry. Anyone who does not figure on the list of those whose arrest (or expulsion) has been decreed by the Executive power is simply "not registered," though, as we have seen in past, subject might well be in secret custody of a provincial commander or some branch of the Armed Forces. GOA has not published arrest decrees in the Official Bulletin, nor has it revealed the total number or names of those "officially" arrested by Executive decree. GOA official emphasized to Emboff that information on specific individuals is provided by GOA to foreign govts as a special gesture in the name of good relations.